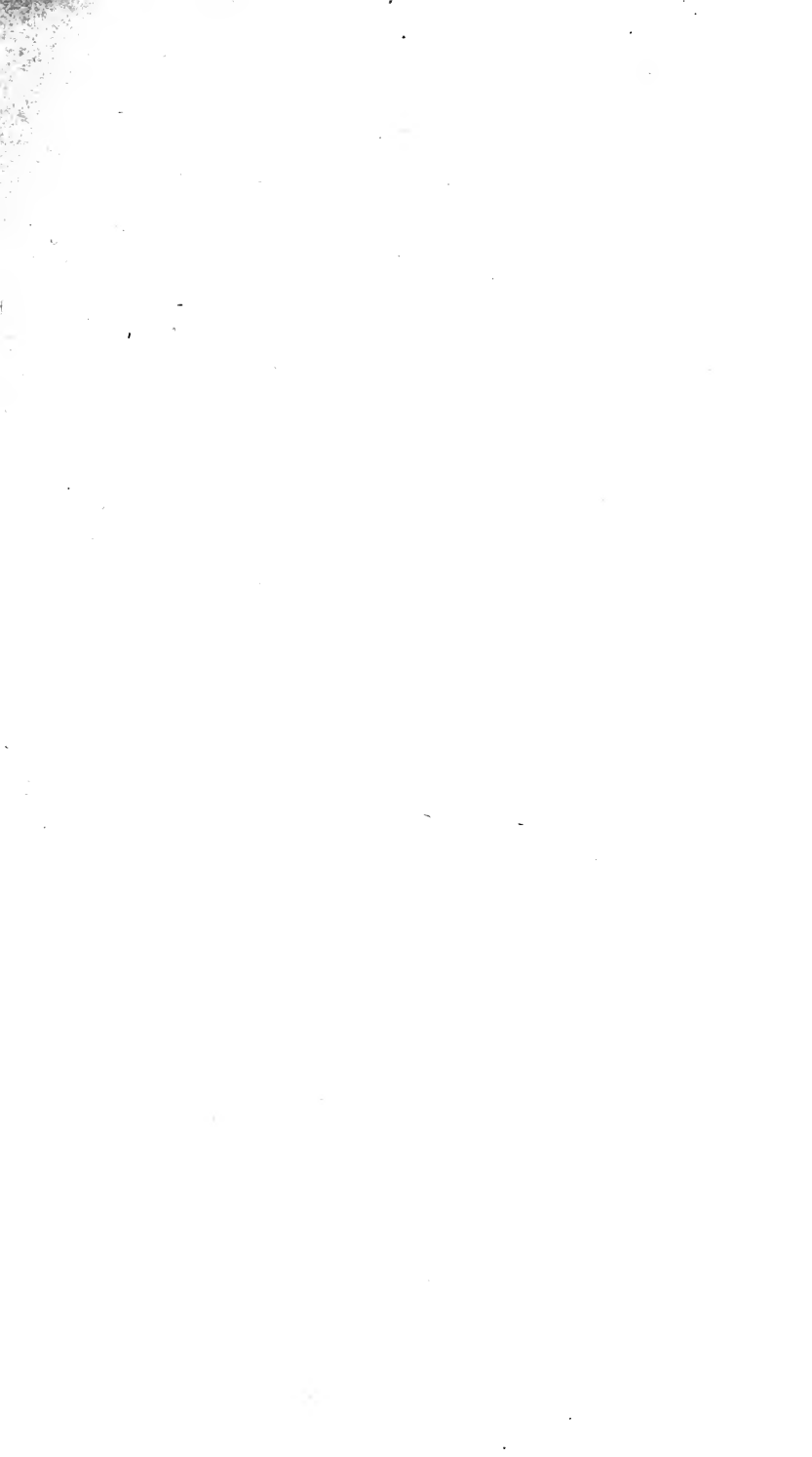


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Seu vetus est verum diligo sive novum.

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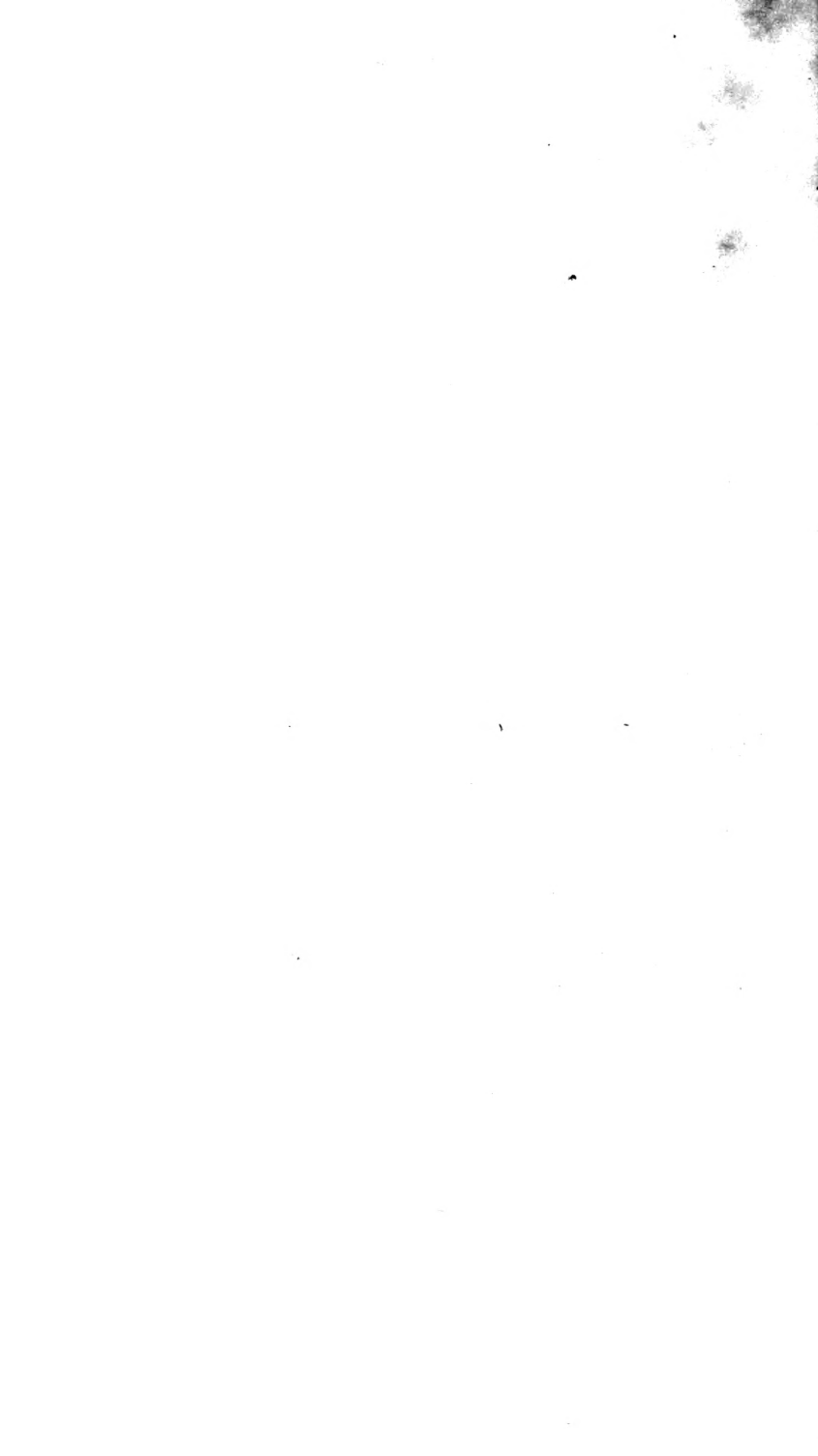
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THE RAMBLER.

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NOVEMBER 1860.

PART X.

THE ROMAN QUESTION.*

THE temporal sovereignty of the Popes, an institution which is so intimately connected with the well-being of the Catholic religion that the Catholic Episcopate has almost unanimously pronounced it to be necessary for religious liberty in Europe, is too august a thing to be made an object of random speculations or rash experiments; crude political theories may be tested where their failure or their success would not be so disastrous to Christendom as it would be at Rome, the common patrimony of the whole Catholic family. A great system that has influenced Europe for more than a thousand years, and that now, as Victor Hugo says, has under it not merely foundations but roots that ramify under all nations, is not one that can be settled anew with a stroke of the pen, that can change itself at the bidding of every rash adviser, or that can sacrifice, for present peace, interests of which it has been the guardian for centuries, and which all its great rulers and ministers have ever been engaged in maintaining and defending.

Yet times of trouble like the present are exceptional in themselves, and warrant an exceptional mode of thought in us. We cannot, if we would, keep our eyes closed to the "sad but salutary" lessons which the revolution is teaching us; nor is it in the nature of things that an experience which costs us so much should remain entirely unfruitful.

In considering the course of history, events may be viewed either as human acts or as divine appointments. We must give sentence upon the character of human acts in accordance with the known principles of morality and law; but the dis-

* *The Papal Sovereignty viewed in its Relations to the Catholic Religion and to the Law of Europe.* Translated from the French of Mgr. Dupanloup. London, Dolman.

pensations and awards of Providence are beyond the scope of all law in this respect, that the result is just, in spite of all the iniquities of the human instruments that were employed to produce it; for the result makes manifest to us the will of God, though it by no means justifies the morality of the agents who brought it about. Men and nations that believe in a supreme moral Ruler of the world hold this distinction in reverence, and do not think it allowable to transgress moral principles for the acquisition of any end, however tempting, nor to do evil that good may come. They may transgress this law often enough, but they will never maintain that they are right in transgressing it. But men who have no faith in a moral Governor of the world, and the schools of anarchy, democracy, or Cæsarism which they found, hold the distinction to be not only worthless, but false, foolish, and mischievous. They hold it to be a mere superstition to be scrupulous about the means when the utility of the object aimed at is once acknowledged; and they unblushingly avow the "sovereignty of the end" to be the only pole-star of their compass. This is the motto of the revolution; the principles of revolutionary Cæsarism are precisely the same, though they are expressed differently. Napoleon at St. Helena contrasted his empire with the old Christian monarchies of Europe: "They never suspected that my monarchy was essentially different from theirs. Mine was altogether in the sphere of facts, theirs altogether in that of right; theirs was founded upon habit, mine disregarded it; mine marched with the genius of the age, theirs hauled upon the ropes to hold it back." The imperialism of Napoleon III. has gone a step further; it raises facts not only above right, but above reason also; and not only is blame rendered nugatory, but the most convincing arguments collapse when they are tried by the new touchstone, the "logic of facts." The moral and mental civilisation which nearly two thousand years of Christianity have conquered for Europe is in danger; and both reason and right are now invited to bow their heads before the golden calf of brute force or of accident.

Not that Christians question the "sovereignty of the end" when the expression is only used to remind them that they must suffer with patience and resignation, if not with joy, whatever God ordains or permits. But the end is only sovereign to them after it has passed into the sphere of facts. They recognise that "whatever is is right," but do not thereby acknowledge that every body is right in doing whatever he does. They do not claim the right of anticipating Providence, or usurping its place, of settling beforehand all

that is to happen, and of plotting and conspiring to bring it about by any means, just or unjust. In all cases where measures sanctioned by moral principles are insufficient for the attainment of their ends, believers are obliged to renounce their hopes of governing the world. Those whose consciences are hampered by no such scruples enjoy considerable immediate advantages in many an isolated struggle. But they cannot hope for victory in the end unless they can first uproot or deprave the universal conscience of mankind.

In the reverses which the Papal sovereignty has undergone during the last few years, few will deny that the actors have professed the principle of the sovereignty of the end, while the sufferers have been restrained by the fear of obtaining a good end by ill means. Political changes have been demanded which the Pope could not make to harmonise with the power which was deposited in his hands as a trust; therefore he could not in conscience either be an active agent in introducing the changes, or a party to their introduction, even as the price of a guarantee of the integrity of his States. And the more the Pope dreaded the responsibility of granting all that was demanded of him, the louder and more extravagant did the demands become, till nothing would satisfy the discontented but the entire destruction of his temporal power. That the successes which his enemies have achieved have been gained by means that are condemned by the fixed principles of morality and law, and are only defensible on the grounds of expediency and sentiment, is admitted even by the partisans of Piedmont and the revolution. One admirer, while urging the "Italian Washington" to do quickly, like Judas, what he has to do, says, "Europe will not always be inclined to look on in silence while the rules of law are set aside to leave room for the larger principles of natural justice. . . . The weak, for whose protection laws are principally designed, will not in all cases deserve their fate." The legal case in favour of the Pope is perfect; not a hole can be found in his armour; his advocates, especially Mgr. Dupanloup, M. de Montalembert, and M. de Falloux, have put together an argument that never has been, and never will be, refuted; and incidentally, in proving the right of the Holy See, they have proved the wrong of its enemies. They have shown how the Pope was hypocritically asked to grant reforms, and then how all reforms were rendered impossible by French and Piedmontese intrigue; how the period of quiet which was absolutely necessary for the consolidation of the reforms actually attempted was continually interrupted—first, by the unprecedented attack made by M. Cavour, and endorsed by

the Congress of Paris in 1856, then by the war against Austria in 1859, when the words of the Emperor, who declared that he did not go into Italy to upset the power of the Holy Father, were interpreted literally in France, and were understood to mean the reverse across the Alps. Then came the conditions of Villafranca, and immediately afterwards the conference of Pepoli with the Emperor, which was followed by the violation of those conditions, in withholding the Romagnas from the Pope, the Emperor's consent being purchased by the cession of Savoy and Nice. The revolution was every where active. France, true to its new theory of the supremacy of fact over right, lightly relinquished to the "logic of facts" all her promises and all guarantees. In tenderness to the Pope, France kept him sick that she might nurse him, only she took care to mix arsenic in his food: she had kindled the fire, and she had engaged to put it out, only it was remarked that her torches were always alight, and that there was never any water in her buckets. At last, in pretended weariness of the delays for which he was responsible, the Emperor announced that he was ready to accept the settlement of the Italian question, "no matter how," provided only there was no foreign intervention. Piedmont was ready enough to take the hint. Cialdini had an interview with Napoleon at Chambéry; and immediately afterwards the Papal States were invaded, with all circumstances of fraud and treachery that could well be heaped together on one occasion.

The pretext on which the States were invaded was that the Pope was defended by foreign troops. So he has long been. But whatever he did, he was wrong in doing. When he had no army, the Congress of Paris reproached him for having no guarantee for justice and order in his dominions; but he was more culpable still when he had an army which threatened to be a real obstacle to Piedmontese ambition. The principle of nationalities pronounces that the Pope, who must be an Italian, ought not to be an Italian prince; while it makes the Piedmontese, who can scarcely be said even to speak the language, the representatives of Italian nationality. The principle of non-intervention prevents foreign recruits from helping the Universal Father of Christians, but permits France to march with 100,000 men into Italy, and allows Englishmen, Poles, Hungarians, and Frenchmen to fight under Garibaldi's banner, as they fought against Austria under Victor Emmanuel's. The things that the Pope was required to do were either in themselves impossible, or were purposely made impossible, for him: actions

that were virtues in other rulers were reckoned to be sins in him; and the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb was realised in his treatment.

The Pope's subjects have been almost as much injured as the Pope himself by this foreign interference. No doubt many abuses had crept into the system of government, and are still far from being purged away. M. Rayneval, in his famous report, in order to show the magnitude of the improvements introduced by the present Pope, draws a remarkable picture of the confusion and irregularity of the Papal administration before his reign. And he sums up its present character in these words: "It mistrusts, it fears, it hesitates; it examines more willingly than it decides. It loves compositions and compromises. It is wanting in energy, in initiation, in firmness." "The Papal government," says Mr. Lyons, "is naturally rather a weak, inefficient, indolent government than a harsh or cruel one. The corruption of the officials, their idleness, and even the notorious disaffection of the lower class of them, are very little checked or punished. It is easy to see how much scope such laxity must give for oppression and severity on the part of the subordinates to whom power is intrusted. It must be admitted, too, that from weakness and timidity . . . the government sometimes sanctions a very harsh and arbitrary use of the immense powers of the police." Here we have a picture of a good government spoiled by the interpolation of an evil principle. It is the chief virtue of a government not to govern too much; to be indolent and good-natured; to let things take their course, and run naturally in the right groove, and to trust to the local authorities for the preservation of order and the fulfilment of local needs. But the French occupation of the Papal States under the first Empire had left a terrible legacy to all future governments; it had destroyed the local magistracy, and deposited in its stead the revolutionary bureaucracy of France; and in proportion to the good-nature of the central power, and its unwillingness to interfere, did the evil activity of the official *bureaux* develop unchecked. No one was more alive to the just claims of the Roman subjects for redress of the grievances which resulted from the heterogeneous character of the government than was Pius IX. at the commencement of his pontificate; and he began to redress them rather, perhaps, by developing the seeds of the French system, by strengthening the central power, and by adopting the form without the reality of a constitutional government, than by encouraging what remained of the old guarantees of individual and local liberties,

and restoring what had only recently been lost. But these reforms, whatever was their value, were not destined to last. The weakness of the Papal government was a kind of invitation to all the revolutionists and socialists of Europe to congregate within the States; and the Roman people, whose want of political education made them easy dupes, were forced or cajoled into the excesses of 1848. But, as M. de Falloux, M. de Corcelles, and Mgr. Dupanloup all positively assert, the revolution had "nothing in common with the real desires of the Roman people;" the defence of Rome in 1849 was altogether conducted by "foreign refugees," "Lombards and Genoese," and "the scum of all the Polish and Italian revolutionists," aided by some "20,000 foreigners," and "possibly by some thousands of Romans," though "the great majority of the population was opposed to the movement," or was only "influenced by the immediate terrorism of bands of foreigners."*

When the Pope came back from Gaeta, he granted fresh reforms; not those which had been so frightfully abused, but reforms based on a sounder principle, though requiring time for their development, and wanting the dramatic effect that had surrounded his former ones. The measures that were announced in the *motu proprio*, and were fairly started (however small may have been their progress), were founded on the principle of local self-government, whereas the old ones had been intended to satisfy the popular demand for centralisation and the strengthening of the State. All English politicians who would take the trouble to examine the two sets of measures would agree that the later one was the sounder, and that the Pope's subjects were really not sufferers, but gainers, by the change.

Unfortunately they did not think so. Continental liberalism is a strange hallucination; it openly prefers equality to liberty, and the omnipotence of the State to individual rights and freedom. The imperial system of France, and all the liberals and socialists of Germany, Italy, Russia, and Belgium, are imbued with this extravagant notion; each has his nostrum for securing the happiness of mankind; none cares a pin for securing the liberty which leaves every one free to enjoy that kind of happiness which he judges best suited to him. The liberal theory is worse than the despotic theory: the latter need only strive to mould you into a being that shall be no source of danger to the monarch; the former judges for you, will have you happy in its own way, and in

* Dupanloup, pp. 161, 162, 166, 252.

no other, and prescribes with brotherly care not only your political opinions, but your residence, your labour, and the schooling which you shall give your children; and all this purely for your own happiness and good, as infallibly settled by Bentham, Blanc, Mazzini, or Napoleon, the last of whom, however, is both despot and liberal. This system was the only one known to the politicians of Italy, and the only one admissible by the ruler of France. Like the French, the Italians are mad for glory; not perhaps for the glory of a great military and conquering race, but for the glory of a preponderating influence in the councils of Europe, which they suppose would be at once conceded to the intellect of Italy, if she were united in a strong kingdom, and were to obtain a seat in Congress as one of the great Powers of Europe. "The more ardent and intelligent Romans, like other Italians, feel humiliated by the poor part their country plays in the world."* What they want is aggregate consequence, national strength; not individual freedom, of which, indeed, they have a large share; for social liberty is greater in the Roman States than even here, though political liberty is so much more circumscribed. But the Christian instincts of the ecclesiastical ruler forbid him from entering with any enthusiasm into this struggle for the restoration of the imperial power of Italy at the expense of the individual souls whose liberty it is his political mission to maintain, as it is his religious mission to secure their salvation.

Though the President of the French Republic ostentatiously announced in his message to the Assembly, June 7, 1849, that "if France brought back Pius IX., he must in all good faith confirm the liberties he had promised," it was not likely that Napoleon would help the Pope to restore the very liberties which he was about to crush in France. Indeed, his letter to Edgar Ney, August 18, 1849, which summed up the conditions of the restoration under the heads of "general amnesty, secularisation of the administration, *Code Napoléon*, and liberal government," was a sufficient warning to the Roman government that it could only reckon on French support on condition of its becoming an instrument for the propagation of the peculiar French principles of liberty in Italy. The majority of the Italian Liberals sympathised with the French view; and the ministers of the Pope, who were Italians as well as priests, and in whom the ecclesiastical instinct of personal liberty was probably somewhat obscured by the national admiration of the French system, which Car-

* Lyons, Despatches, p. 20.

dinal Consalvi had grafted as far as he could on the Roman policy, were not very decided in their views. Indeed, Mgr. Dupanloup tries to make out that the Pope himself first mentioned the *Code Napoléon*. It was he who "first introduced the question at the conferences at Gaeta, and the representatives of Europe disapproved of such a reform:" "he proposed this code himself."* And Cardinal Antonelli evidently had a hankering for the conscription, and would have introduced it into the Papal States if he had clearly seen his way to do so.† The whole Papal administration gives one the idea of a system conducted by men who have very few clear ideas on the subject of practical government, whose principles are good and true, but too abstract to be readily applied to circumstances; hence comes a tentative empirical system of finance, legislation, and administration. But all these vices of government (and we are not disposed to slur them over or to deny their importance) were not the real cause of the discontent either of the subjects of the Pope or of his protectors. The real cause was rather in feelings than in facts. The clerical government of Rome, which necessitated the division of Italy, was opposed to the theory which had seized on Italian minds, and so could not give them content. The existence of the Papal States was opposed to the unity which is the present sovereign end of Italian existence; therefore it must go. "No doubt," says Mr. Lyons, "under forms of government congenial to their feelings, and giving scope to legitimate ambition, nations have lived loyally, and in the main prosperously, under administrations quite as bad. The chief defect of the Papal government is, not that it administers badly, but that its peculiar constitution is abhorrent to the feelings of its subjects, and makes it an insuperable obstacle to their most cherished aspirations for themselves and their country." For this reason the Romans had worked themselves up to a determination to accept no reforms, but to use whatever concessions were made only in order to overthrow the government; a fact that was so patent to Mr. Lyons that he affirms and reaffirms it repeatedly.‡ For they saw plainly that the ecclesiastical government could not, without abolishing itself, grant the unity which they really desired; and the only hope even of some of the more moderate of them was "that the Powers which keep the Pope on the throne should impose and carry out the reforms; that a foreign army should keep the people

* Dupanloup, pp. 429, 430.

† See Lyons, pp. 36, 64.

‡ See Despatches, pp. 7, 9, 20, 22, 24, 49, &c.

in obedience, and a foreign commission control and superintend the government,"* till the reforms were consolidated.

It is of course true that the desire of Italian unity is not one that would arise spontaneously in a peasant population; it must have been preached to them; and we do not believe it to have been an original idea of the educated classes of the Roman States that annexation to Piedmont was a necessary condition of the unity they sought. Their aspirations did not go beyond an Italian federation till the plots of Piedmont had rendered this solution apparently impossible, and till the paid agents of Piedmont had turned every coffee-house into an office for the propagation of Piedmontese ideas. Even now the best-informed persons think that if the pay was removed, the sentiments and feelings with regard to Piedmont would change, for they are not wrought into the minds of the people. Still, in dealing with an opinion that threatens us with present dangers, and demands instant action, it is only trifling to inquire how it arose, and whether the parties who propagated it were justified in so doing. It may safely be assumed that all atmospheres of thought and feeling are propagated from some centre; that their first origin is in a single head, from which they flow into a school or a political party, and so into society and into the nation. Their being there is the serious thing; the way they got there is of little practical importance.

The only plan that the Papal government had to oppose to this general feeling was to leave matters to settle themselves. It seems to have had every confidence, both that the foreign support of the *statu quo* would be indefinitely continued, and that in the long-run a quiet and gradual improvement in the administration would satisfy the more reasonable, and demonstrate to the wilder heads the utter hopelessness of their schemes. Mr. Lyons himself considered that this plan would succeed,† and, indeed, was already in 1857 bearing the blossoms of success; for he says that "agitation and excitement had in a great measure subsided; many of the disaffected had turned from plotting against the government to more profitable pursuits; . . . the mass of the people appeared to acquiesce in the present order of things." The minister at Rome had perfect confidence; he believed in his Italian soldiers; he never thought that Garibaldi could succeed in Sicily, much less in Naples; and even when Cavour sent his ultimatum, and Cialdini and Fanti invaded the Marches and Umbria, he fully believed that the French would repel them

* Lyons, p. 21.

† See pp. 24, 49, 53, 55.

by force. To gain time was the one idea of Cardinal Antonelli; and if his foreign supporters had been sincere in their promises, no doubt his idea would at last have been more or less successful.

But we cannot be surprised if this Fabian policy provoked to the utmost those who found that they were gradually being overcome by it. Their hopes had been raised high by the concessions of 1847. The reforms which were granted in 1849 instead of them, though much sounder in principle, were reforms which the discontented did not see the good of, and did not desire. They were furious that they had given, and that the Pope had taken, so excellent an opportunity of retracing his steps, and meditated more on the use that the Papal government had made of the occasion which the Revolution of 1848 had afforded, than on the incapacity for centralised self-government which the Italians had therein exhibited. This disappointment embittered their feelings to the utmost. "They burn to revenge the betrayal, as they consider it, of the high hopes and aspirations of the beginning of the reign of Pius IX." They do not compare the present Pope with Gregory XVI., as M. de Rayneval does. The contrast is, "to use their own expression, between the reign of 'Pio Nono Primo' and the reign of 'Pio Nono Secondo.'"^{*}

Here, then, without needing to go into the petty details of grievances which are common to the subjects of most monarchies of the *ancien régime*, and to those who live under the revolutionary-imperial system of France, we have the very point of contrast between the Pope and his discontented subjects. He was asked to secularise the administration, and to make it a part of the administration of a united Italy, in the movements of which he would be involved; so that his neutrality would be compromised, and he would no longer necessarily stand in the friendly relations of Father to all the nations of Christendom. The choice was offered to him between this and spoliation. He could accept neither alternative. He declared "that he could not cede what belonged to the Church, not to him;" not as if every material advantage which the Church possessed was a spiritual treasure for the preservation of which Christians must shed their blood, but because the Papal sovereignty, in its integrity and its freedom, though in itself a mere temporal matter, becomes a religious matter from its connection with religion. It is the only security that now exists for the liberty of the government of the Church. If the Pope were not sovereign, he

* Lyons, pp. 20, 21.

would be subject; and no one could tell whether the acts of the subject were not more or less under the control of the sovereign.

It is mere cant to talk about stripping the Pope of his dominions in order to make him more like the martyr Pontiffs of the Catacombs. We cannot bring back the conditions of those times. Then there was no danger of the Popes being subject to the Emperors, however hostile; for the Emperors lacked the first condition of command,—a knowledge of the powers of the people to be commanded. The *disciplina arcani* had kept the heathen world in the dark about Christianity and the government of the Church. The pagan Emperors did not know how to set about making tools of the Popes; but Emperors of the nineteenth century have the experience of all preceding centuries to guide them. Christianity has been too long before the world to allow us to dream that even the sufferings of the Catacombs would bring back the liberty of the Catacombs,—the liberty of those who walk invisible, the freedom of the unknown. To a pagan the religion of the Catacombs was as great a labyrinth as their paths, he had no clue to either; but now the temporal powers can thread the maze as well as we can. They have our books, they are instructed in our discipline, they discuss it in their protocols and memorandums, they set limits to it in their concordats and by their laws; and if they choose to turn against us, they can oppose us with all the knowledge of traitors and deserters.

Hence liberty, and the external guarantees of liberty, are now more necessary to the Church than ever; as Mgr. Dupanloup says, the Pope must be free and independent; his independence must be sovereign, for there is no medium between sovereign and subject; his freedom must be apparent; he must not be ostensibly, any more than really, under the protection of any man or of any power, so as to give room for the supposition that his ecclesiastical measures are biased by an inclination towards the political interests of his protector. And he must be free and independent within as well as without; he must not be liable to be controlled in his spiritual attributes by a parliament threatening to cut off his supplies, any more than by a foreign prince threatening to withdraw his protection, nor by a responsible ministry acting in his name, but, as might often be suspected, without his free consent.

These considerations amply justify the Pope in his resistance to the demands of his discontented subjects. It is of course another question to what extent they oblige his

subjects to be content with the government. And this is the difficult point. The French writers who defended the intervention in favour of the Pope in 1849 assumed as their ground the exceptional character of the Papal government, which, being for the common interests of Christendom, could impose upon its immediate subjects duties which might not always bind the subjects of other governments. The cardinal interests of the ecclesiastical government, says Mgr. Dupanloup,* overrule all other interests; for, as M. Thiers says, "this interest is of a superior order, which should overrule inferior interests, as in a state the public interest silences individual interests." This comparison requires the most careful guarding, for the same premises have been unexpectedly found to lead to the socialist view of the omnipotence of the State, and to the jurisprudence of pagan Rome, which was founded on the principle *salus populi suprema lex*. Christian legislation admits the supremacy of the rights of individuals over the interests of states; Leo XII. (we think) even went so far as to abolish compulsory vaccination at Rome, because it interfered with parental rights. The principle that "the public interest silences individual interests" forms also the foundation of the strange hallucination of the continental liberals, with whom "liberty" means the overpowering strength of the central authority, and the equal insignificance of all its subjects. *This* is the interest to which they are ready to sacrifice all others. The liberals, at least, have no right to object to a principle which they assert for themselves.

But, to dismiss the consideration of what subjects *ought* to do, what is to be done when they *will* not do what they ought? St. Thomas does not hesitate to declare, *non potest diu conservari quod votis multorum repugnat*. And hence in communities where the duty of the legislator is only to preserve the State, and where this duty is not crossed by a paramount duty that he owes to the whole of Christendom, his rule of action is, as Burke says, "to follow, not to force, the public inclination; to give a direction, a form, a technical dress and a specific sanction to the general sense of the community;" for "men are not to be governed against their will." "The happiness or misery of mankind, estimated by their feelings and sentiments, and not by any theories of their rights, is and ought to be the standard for the conduct of legislators towards the people." When the conscience of the legislator and the aspiration of the subject come to be irreconcilable, if the knot cannot be untied, it must be cut.

* p. 49.

The events of the day seem to render it probable that the complication may be ultimately solved by the development of some new arrangement of the temporal guarantees of the spiritual liberty of the Pope. These guarantees have been embodied for some time in the existing system of the Papal States; but that system has undergone great modifications in the last fifty years, and is probably destined to undergo others at least as important as they. At the present moment the Roman States, instead of being a guarantee against foreign interference, are held by foreign troops. If the protecting power left the Pope at perfect liberty, the question might still slumber; but the government has come to a dead lock, not only with its own subjects, but also with the master of the legions which hold its city. This is only a further development of difficulties which have been emerging for several years; for under the Austrian system, before it was modified by the Emperor Francis Joseph, the government was often obliged to protest against the interferences which the Austrian officials considered that the protection afforded by their Emperor to the Pope warranted them in making; and the government of Louis Philippe once threatened that a rebellion should be fomented in the States unless the Pope would withdraw the Jesuits from France.

As these difficulties come to a head, it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that some change is impending, either over the kingdoms of the world, or over the Roman system itself. For Divine Providence will never allow this system to become a mere instrument of Bonapartism, or an attribute of the Parisian *bureaux*. We may feel confident that the Church will some how be preserved from the reign of Popes who come before the world as political partisans, or organs of national interests, men who might be supposed to have both the will and the power to convert every seminary and every convent into a nursery of French or Italian agents, and to direct all the influences of the clergy into the current of political propagandism. The history of persecutions, which have nearly all been justified by the pretext of the political interference of the priesthood, will warn us of the evils and miseries, schisms and apostasies, which such a state of things would be sure to produce.

But the temporal sovereignty of the Popes has taken deep root in the existing political order, and it can scarcely pass into new conditions without involving the collapse of the present European system. Among the signs of such a collapse is the proclamation of the principle of non-intervention by the chief powers of Europe. If this new principle is

carried out, it will completely destroy the system of guarantees, on which, since the rise of the great military powers, the smaller states have depended for their existence. When the Pope was acknowledged to be the head of the European system, it was an acknowledgment of the supremacy of justice over force. When the nations repudiated his arbitration, it was a partial reassertion of the privileges of force. When the Pope judged, it was acknowledged that all states amenable to his jurisdiction had rights. When his international court was abolished, and the existence of the small powers came to be a matter of protocols and arrangements between the great, the existence of the small states began to stand on a new foundation, not that of right, but that of convenience to their stronger neighbours. If the rights of all were acknowledged, and all were bound to resist the invader of the rights of any, there need not be any special guarantees. But special guarantees became necessary when the question became one not of right, but of utility. All powers, great and small, would have the same rights of existence; but all would not be equally convenient to their neighbours. Hence came the need of the European guarantee; a system which is much praised by Mgr. Dupanloup, but which has developed into consequences the more condemnatory of the system the more logically they flow from it. It divides Europe into two classes of states; those which exist in virtue of their inherent strength, and the weak states, which exist only in virtue of the guarantees of the others, for their rights in justice have been already denied. Two different rules are applied to these two classes, as two different rules are applicable to men who enjoy liberty by their own right, and to men who are only bailed out of prison by their friends. For in this system weakness and poverty are crimes, only escaping prison when they can find sureties for their good behaviour. No one, then, is permitted to interfere in the internal affairs of states of the first class; but every guaranteeing power assumes the prerogative of remonstrance and advice concerning the internal affairs of the guaranteed states, whose internal disorders might in time involve their sureties in troubles or even in war. Not that this result of the system of European guarantees appeared immediately; it was only developed in the Paris Congress of 1856. Then, against all precedent, Cavour was allowed to read his paper on the state of the Roman government; and England, which consented to this innovation against the rights of the Pope, was obliged on the same principle to admit the right of the Congress to protest against the liberty of the press in Belgium. And long before the Con-

gress of Paris, Lord Palmerston had set the example of this unwarrantable method of proceeding. Guarded and cautious as he generally is in his official statements that regard the great powers, no one is more insolent than he is in his remarks on the conduct of weak governments, whom he treats as the bores of Europe. Blustering to the infirm, cringing to the strong, he made himself the Captain Rock of Europe, and, as the great Sir Robert Peel said in his last speech, he applied diplomacy, which was designed to prevent wars, "to fester every wound, to provoke instead of soothing resentments;" he placed his ministers in the courts of Europe "for the purpose, not of preventing or adjusting quarrels, but of continuing an angry correspondence, of promoting what he supposed to be an English interest, and of keeping up conflicts with the representatives of other powers." His late assertion, that Rome was never so well governed as in the absence of the Pope, will be long remembered by Catholic Europe, and will yet point many a bitter reproach against him and his country.

Lord Palmerston was just the kind of man wanted for the *reductio ad absurdum* of a system which was only kept in order by the decent character of the men who conducted it. He developed it into one which rendered miserable the existence of the weak governments that had the misfortune not to please him; they were made the butts of his diplomacy, the targets for his taunts and his scorn. His existence became a premium upon the amalgamation of smaller states and upon the centralisation of the larger ones, in order that where a government could not win his sympathies or his esteem, it might at least command his respect. He became a sort of call-bird for the revolution. No revolutionist himself, no man has done more to provoke it and to call it into existence than he has. His influence has done much to determine the present tendencies of Europe; he has been the jackal for Napoleon III., who only carries Palmerston's system into its natural results when he employs secret agents in all states to stir up the spirit of disaffection and revolt, and to encourage all kinds of ambitious and revolutionary dreams, which he may perchance turn to his own profit. The principle of non-intervention is that which legalises these intrigues, and places the little states, or those whose nationalities are not yet completely amalgamated, at the mercy of a powerful and unscrupulous neighbour. It leaves the Roman States and Naples to be a prey for Sardinia; Switzerland, Belgium, and the Rhine it makes a temptation for France. Filibustering and annexation become normal elements of European politics; and the

Bonaparte dynasty forms schemes of making the Papacy itself an appanage of the imperial family, or at least an instrument of its policy. No one can exaggerate the mischief that would result from the success of such a plot. "The submission of peoples to the Pope," says M. Thiers, quoted with approbation by Mgr. Dupanloup, "would be inadmissible if the Pontiff were not perfectly independent; if upon his territory another sovereign, whether prince or people, were to rise and dictate laws to him." But this would be the case if, instead of the guarantee founded on justice, the Pope should be only protected by a guarantee founded on the compassion, the good-nature, or even the contempt of the stronger powers, who should no longer recognise his *right* to exist, but should give him a simple permission to exist during their good pleasure and his good behaviour.

And this represents more or less accurately the tendency of the present situation. As things are now, we have no other guarantee than the nobility and sanctity of Pius IX. that the Pope is not a mere puppet in the hands of his military protectors. A foreign prince could hardly be in a better position to dictate to a Pope at Rome than the French Emperor now is; and future generations will recognise the sublime part which the Holy Father has played, in keeping himself free even from the barest suspicion of having yielded, amidst so many temptations to compromise his independence. But we cannot always make sure of a Pope of the same lofty character. If we could, there need be no Roman question at all; and Christendom would be giving itself needless trouble in seeking for other than merely personal guarantees of the Pope's independence.

But Christendom requires a political guarantee; and no one has as yet discovered a substitute for the sovereign position which has for the last thousand years secured the independence of the Popes. Our Protestant critics carp at us on this account, and declare that with all our boasted versatility our resources have failed us, and that we can do nothing but weakly bewail that which is passing away from us. We need not be ashamed of owning that we no more think of inventing the new material guarantees of religious freedom than we think of inventing new dogmas of religion; it is not our place. The Church is at bottom a theocracy; the vicarious government of the Pope is not coextensive with the government of Christ. God governs, and His decrees and plans are slowly written by the hour-hand on the dial of history, not by the quickly-revolving indexes that only mark the minutes and seconds. While His plans are developing,

we dare not put in our finger to set Him right; and when they are developed, our duty is to do what we can to keep them *in statu quo* till the course of events shows that the hour for another change has come.

And this is what the Papal government has been doing; and though the horizon looks blacker than the foreground,—and the foreground is black enough,—we may be permitted to say that it is not yet all over with its cause. The clergy are the conservatives of Europe, the great upholders of the past against the present. This is no slur upon their heads or hearts. On the contrary, one of the greatest writers of the new school, Mr. Stuart Mill, professes the greatest respect for the part which their party plays in the world of politics. “In revolutionary changes of thought, the most strong-minded and discerning, next to those who head the movement, are generally those who bring up the rear of it.” This is the place where the clergy are always found. They are the conservative element, the withholding power, the drag upon the wheels of the chariot of progress. They have been at the head of the movement of civilisation; but that was after Europe had been inundated with a young barbarism, and the clergy were the sole remains of the ancient world, the sole depositaries of the traditions of the buried civilisation of the past. In an age of deterioration conservatism is equivalent to improvement, as in an age of progress not to advance is to go back. When the age is growing worse, to restore the past is to reform the present. Thus, even when all learning and art and law were in the hands of the clergy, they were the conservatives of society; their mission was to keep it in check, and to restrain its aspirations within the limits of law, just as it is at present, when they no longer head the movement of civilisation and progress. This is the secret of their ill favour with all revolutionary politicians, with every party of progress, and with the whole population in those epochs when principles enchant by their novelty, but do not yet terrify by the strange results of their unexpected developments—while the boat drops swimmingly down the stream, and the roar of the rapids and of the cataract is not yet heard—while new conquests of comfort and social mechanism are being every day achieved. The same principle will account for their sudden resurrection to popular favour when the scene changes, and the pleasure-party turns into a company of madmen; when progress is brought up by barricades, and universal love and philanthropy suddenly give birth to a brood of guillotines. It is when the volcanic crust falls in, and reveals the heaving lava beneath, that the men of pro-

gress first see how unsafe is the foundation on which they have been piling their materials,—wood, straw, and stubble, for the most part,—and how treacherous is the sea to which they have trusted themselves without chart, compass, or anchor. Then they appeal to the clergy to save them, and cling fast to the *soutane* that appears with an olive-branch between the soldiers and the armed mob.

In the sphere of politics the Church seems to act like an anchor which has hold far behind in the past, and which enables the crew of the social vessel to haul her back when she is running on the rocks. While reform goes swimmingly the Church has to hide her political light under a bushel, for she has no political part to play; or, if she plays any part, it is an unpopular one, in which she is always at a disadvantage, and generally overcome. But when tempests are about, and society dreads present shipwreck, then she is surprised at her sudden triumphs; and her enemies are more surprised still. “How strange,” writes Alexander von Humboldt to Varnhagen, “that at certain times one principle pervades the entire world! The revival of faiths of yore; the inextinguishable yearning after peace; the mistrust of all improvement” (such as Humboldt called improvement); “the hydrophobia of all talent; the enforced uniformity of creeds; diplomatic love of protocols—*cardines rerum.*”

As in our parliamentary constitution the Reformers and the Conservatives have their alternate innings, so, on the wider stage of Christendom, the ideas of progress and of reaction have also their oscillations, and the exit of one is the entrance of the other. And as our parliamentary history teaches that it is only to ensure their own failure that the Conservatives occasionally try to place themselves at the head of the party of progress,—that the same Disraeli who sprang into notoriety by taunting Peel with his supposed conversion to liberal ideas, himself disorganised the Conservatives by trying to make them act like Radicals,—so general history seems to contain the lesson that failure is certain when an ecclesiastical politician tries to ride on the crest of the wave, and to beat his opponents with their own weapons. Not that ecclesiastics are incapable as politicians; their intellects are as acute, and their education often much more sound than that of other men; yet we cannot remember an instance of an ecclesiastic who has striven to swim foremost with the stream of events, and to influence all the complications of policy so as to make them work for the good of the Church, and has really succeeded in the long-run. We might almost say, that those ecclesiastics who have gained the greatest name as politicians

within the last four centuries have done more to injure than to benefit the Church. The great ecclesiastical ministers of secular states have succeeded when they worked against the Church, and have not succeeded when they worked for her. It almost seems as if the Divine Ruler of the Church had decreed not to accept the aid of politicians, always more or less tricksters and schemers. It was a fine time for the Church while Wolsey was minister to Henry VIII. But he inaugurated the principles of spoliation, and the king profited by his lessons after the cardinal's disgrace. Mary was guided by clerical counsellors, and her policy was unfortunate at home and abroad: she lost Calais, and her work in England collapsed with her death. Cardinal Granvelle in the Low Countries introduced a policy which, though ably seconded by Alva, resulted in the loss of the better part of those countries to the Spanish crown. The whole reign of Philip II. of Spain teaches the same lesson. The crusade of Emmanuel of Portugal into Barbary cost him his life, and enslaved his country to Spain. Charles I. was equally unfortunate whether guided by Laud or by Henrietta and her advisers; so was James II., who notoriously schemed to bring about the restoration of the Church in England. Richelieu, Fleury, and Mazarin are remembered in France as great and successful ministers; but their successes were gained for the crown, not for the Church. The last instance we need quote is the memorable failure of Pius IX. to win over the revolutionary movement of the nineteenth century to the interests of the Church.

The clergy sink in times of change and movement till the movement becomes dangerous, and reaction becomes popular; then they emerge, and continue to be influential through the period of quiet, till new ideas begin to ferment, and new systems are hatched from the brains of politicians. And these new systems always find their first adversaries among the clergy. This is quite natural. No dominant religious system can subsist in the world without combining with all the practical and theoretical opinions and beliefs of those among whom it is received. In process of time these foreign elements become so incorporated with religion, that very few contemporary thinkers, whether clergymen or their opponents, can distinguish between the two. Hence the clergy come to resent attacks upon mere habits, customs, and opinions as attacks on religion; and reformers come to mix up religion with the abuses which they consider it their mission to destroy. Hence also very few revolutions either in science or in politics can take place without considerable religious

scandal. Thus, when Copernicus and Galileo exploded the scholastic system of physics, Bellarmine and the most considerable theologians of the day considered that the cause of religion was in danger, and so they opposed the new theories; and the scientific reputation of the clergy underwent a shock from which it has not yet recovered, though it would now be hard to point out any real connection between religion and the exploded system. So now the Church, though she is neither the creator nor the apologist of the *ancien régime*, has lived so long with it, has become so familiar, so intimate in her relations with it, that the fall of this system of policy, though rather in favour of religious liberty than against the real interests of the Church, is regarded as involving her in its disgrace. Thus every revolution involves some defeat of the clerical cause, some temporary disgrace, which is soon repaired, because it does not affect the substance of religion, but only its temporary dress and habiliments. In the heat of the revolution this phenomenon always breeds a great opposition between politicians and the clergy; this holds good outside the sphere of Catholicism as well as within it. Revolution affects the clergy of the Anglican establishment as much as it does our priests; and they are abused in the same way by those who belong to their communion, and pretend to pay them reverence. Just the same opprobrium was heaped upon the English divines in the middle of the seventeenth century as the priests of Italy have to endure now. They were stigmatised as "a sort of men taught rather to obey than to understand, and who use what learning they have to justify, not to examine, what their superiors command." Philosophers like Selden declared them "unfit to govern" because of their education—because they were "brought up in another law, and ran to the text for something done among the Jews which concerned not England." And statesmen like Clarendon declared that they "understood the least, and took the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that could read and write." For these people all found their designs marred, and their movements hampered and baffled, by the immovable conservatism of the clergy, who, as keepers of a tradition delivered, not discovered, and admitting of no alterations or additions, become habituated to a mode of thought scarcely in keeping with the versatility requisite for the politician, whose business is almost all with shifting circumstances and events, and is less conversant with the domain of eternal principles. A clergyman and a politician start from different points, go by different roads, and aim at different objects; thus they are generally opposed to each

other, for they represent different phases of social opinion, and the central principle of their thought colours all their feelings and opinions. This is much more true of the Catholic than of the Anglican clergy, who have no such constant tradition to enforce, whose education is not so exclusively professional, and whose married life goes so far to break down the distinction between them and the laity.

If the clergy are the highest expression of the conservative element of society, we need not fear that the present unpopularity of clerical government will be lasting; for not only spiritually, but politically too, the Church will ever have a part to take in the government of the world. The different schools of progress have each its pet nostrum, its one prescription for the miseries of the times, which it applies with more or less success, and then dies, to make way in due time for the school destined to make the next advance. But the school of conservatism, especially when united with religion, though it has always to accept a portion of that which it at first opposes, and though in this conflict it is always apparently beaten, yet ever rises again with renewed vigour after each defeat, or is discovered still standing like Ararat when the waters are assuaged. As the Duke of Wellington opposed the Reform Bill before it was passed, and accepted it as the expression of the new state of things to be preserved after it had become law; so does conservatism oppose the introduction of all changes, but after they are introduced incorporates them into the body of law which it defends, establishes them, and preserves them against the innovations of crude speculators. This seems to be the political vocation of the Church; and if it accounts for her periodical humiliation, it secures also her resurrection at the appointed time, and her honest adoption of whatever real reforms the spirit of progress has during her eclipse introduced into the theory and practice of government. These reforms are such as history shows are generally foreign to the spirit of the clergy, and therefore rarely take their rise from a clerical government; but nothing is more fitted to fix them in the habits of Christian society, and to guard them when once made, than such a government.

Not that we at all see how the so-called reforms which France and Piedmont are now trying to force upon Rome are at all real advances in the principles of government, though they may contain many useful mechanical contrivances of administration. And, looking at the men who introduce the reforms, it is difficult to see how they could be the chosen instruments of God to effect any thing great for society. For it seems scarcely credible that infidels and

libertines should be the first to understand and to execute God's designs for His Church; yet of course every thing is possible with Him who glories in making all things, however evil, conspire together for good in the great scheme of His Providence.

And, indeed, the external condition of the Church has generally been shaped by the pressure of her enemies; as liquids assume the mould of the vessels into which they are poured. The Papal sovereignty was developed by the force of events, and the moral character of agents like Constantine did not stand in the way of their instrumental utility. Throughout the whole history of the Church, her temporal relations have not been determined by her own wishes, but by the constraining force of events which she did not foresee, and could not interpret at the moment. The early Popes were as much terrified at the prospect of temporal power being forced on them as the modern Popes are at the prospect of losing it. "The Popes," says Maistre,* "became sovereigns without their knowledge, and even, to speak strictly, in spite of themselves." "They did not," says Mgr. Dupanloup, "impose themselves upon the people," but the people "implored the Popes to govern them."† Theirs was an "involuntary but necessary sovereignty," imposed "by the mere force of circumstances;"‡ and so far from seeking it, the Popes "deplore bitterly and unceasingly this inevitable transformation: their authority imposes itself upon them against their will; they submit to it."§ And not only did the accession of temporal power thus in itself appear as great a calamity as its loss is now thought to be, but its necessity arose from precisely the same causes—the short-sighted, oppressive, and insane policy of emperors, and the incapacity, oppression, and rapacity of officers and administrators. What has once been may be again; God's designs for His Church may yet once more be brought about by the wickedness and folly of men, and in spite of the protests of the Popes.

And this was only one development of the temporal condition of the Papacy; but it has gone through many phases, and in each change God has sufficiently provided for the independence of His Church. In the ages of martyrdom the ignorance of the pagans and the personal heroism of the Roman clergy and Christian people were the guarantees of ecclesiastical freedom. Under the Byzantine Emperors it was the local popularity of the Popes that defended them from the arbitrary power of the crown, while the indispens-

* Dupanloup, p. 58.

† *Ib.* p. 77.

‡ *Ib.* p. 74.

§ *Ib.* p. 84.

able necessity of their influence for the stability of the imperial power in Italy often gave them an almost unlimited power over the weak and worthless government. After the troubles of the Teutonic invasion had been settled by the interference of Charles Martel and Charlemagne, and when the Church found herself confronted with the feudal system, and with the extravagant pretensions of the suzerains, the Popes, who had only the positions of vassals and suzerains to choose between, seemed to come to the conclusion that the independence of the Church could only be secured by making all princes her feudatories; and this policy was for a long time pursued with partial success. Afterwards, for a while, the Popes stood among European monarchs as equals and appealed to the same *ratio ultima regum*; their sword guaranteed their independence. After the rise of the great European military powers, the Papal States were in themselves too weak to guarantee any thing, and so were themselves placed under the guarantee of international law. But now a new change seems to be passing over the European system; for the moment the logic of facts is stronger than reasons of right. The principle of non-intervention is rendering the European guarantee nugatory; and Victor Emmanuel openly proclaims his intention of having Italy for the Italians, and of driving away every "cosmopolitan sect" from its territories. Unless these pretensions are brought to nothing, it is clear that a new epoch will have dawned upon Europe, and that a new stage in the arrangement of the temporal guarantees of the Church will have to be expected.

But while any hope remains of maintaining the *status quo*, it is the clear duty of the Popes to make the attempt to do so. They are only trustees, and cannot deal with the trust-fund as if it was their own. They have only principles to steer by; other princes may be guided by circumstances, for they have no interests to guard but those of their states; the Popes hold a trust for the benefit of the whole world, and cannot make changes to avoid every local difficulty. If a difficulty ever attains such a magnitude as to be irresistible, they cannot yield; they must consent to be crushed, and must hope that their successors will be more fortunate; and history gives them good ground for such a hope, by showing them how the Papal power has been refreshed instead of destroyed by reverses.

We have seen how unwillingly the Popes received their temporal power; yet it was a vast improvement on the former order. We know how obstinately Rome fought for her me-

diæval suzerainty; she staked every thing upon the battle, and was beaten; and the result was, that whereas before that event "the political position of the Papacy was most insecure, its temporal sovereignty often threatened and sometimes overthrown;—comparing times with times, we shall find that the evils which then afflicted the Holy See have been spared it since its temporal sovereignty and independence have been secured to it, and the Pontifical States placed under the common protection of the European powers. . . . The absence of any temporal guarantee to the Papal independence, and the odious tyrannies (of the Emperors and Italian nobles), were the causes of the disreputable elections which afflicted the Church" in mediæval times. "How much better is the position of her chief in modern days, when his full independence, though nothing more, has been secured to him by the provisions of most solemn treaties!"* It is the old story over again; a change which the Popes were with reason most afraid of, and which, as in duty bound, they did all that lay in their power to prevent, turned out to be entirely in their interests. For the institution of the temporal power of the Popes rests, and always has rested, on external and changeable causes, which have not always existed, and which may not exist always. Arguments from history only prove that such a power, in the form in which it then existed, was necessary for those times; but they do not enable us to prophesy what will be the character of future times, and how far and under what conditions it will be necessary for them. Just at present it is clear that the existence of the temporal power is not felt to be so imperiously necessary as it once was. Mgr. Dupanloup proves that its rise was necessitated and determined by circumstances; that once there were forces at work in society which set it up. It would be hard to prove the same of the present epoch. But where there is no creating force, those who hold that preservation is only a continuous re-creation must doubt if there is any preserving force. Men are not now invoking from amidst the pressure of barbarism the sweet influences of a civilisation whose ruins strew the ground. But if present movements progress to their logical conclusion, if Cæsarism and socialism succeed still more in suppressing the individual in favour of the State, then we may expect another reaction towards Christian as distinguished from Roman jurisprudence; and the natural leaders of this return will be the sole remaining depositaries of mediæval traditions, the Pope and the priesthood. But they would never do for

* Dupanloup, pp. 102-104.

leaders of the modern socialist progress of the omnipotence of the state.

Another remarkable sign of the times is, that the states whose people profess spiritual allegiance to the Pope are departed farthest from the mediæval type of free government, of which he is the true representative; while those states which have adhered most closely to that type, and have preserved most carefully the liberty of the individual, have deserted his faith; hence it happens that his spiritual children are his chief political opponents, and his spiritual opponents have given him the most effective political support. England was his best friend in 1814; Russia and Prussia would be better protectors to him now than France or Piedmont. At present it must be owned that England is bitterly hostile to the Pope, though she would never have behaved so basely as either France or Piedmont. This hostility is partly to be attributed to a change of principle in England, and the spread of democratic and revolutionary ideas, and partly to the ignorance of foreign nations which exists amongst Englishmen. They take for granted that liberty and liberalism mean every where the same as with themselves, and so they support revolutionary liberals abroad whom they would not endure for a moment at home. Also, in criticising a state, they see superficial abuses much more plainly than valuable principles, and they "give to dust that is a little gilt more than to gilt o'er dusted." To this must be added the anti-Catholic spirit of the English middle classes, which, however, especially in foreign affairs, may be easily overcome (as was proved by the enthusiasm in 1848 for "the benevolent Pope Pius IX."), when they are convinced of the real liberalism of a Catholic government. We think, then, that Mgr. Dupanloup speaks inaccurately when he attributes the "malevolent prejudices" and "blindness and injustice" which influence England in her attitude on the Italian question to her old political animosity against the Pope. In the same way, if it were not that he only strives to wound his real opponent, who is none other than Lewis Napoleon, through the sides of the English people, we might wonder how he could ever think of frightening them with the threatened indignation of 200,000,000 of Catholics for their Italian policy, when the sole movers of this policy are of the number of these very Catholics, and England has only accepted it after trying to prevent it. This country has never failed to protest against both French and Austrian interference in Italy; and whatever becomes of the exceptional character of the Papal government, this character is one that Protestant

states can scarcely be expected to recognise, when Catholic governments set them so bad an example. We may fairly ask the Protestant mass of the English nation to apply to the Papal States the same measure and rule which it would apply to any other small state, such as Belgium or Holland. There is no doubt that the popular character of the English government and press predisposes the English always to take the popular side in disputes between rulers and subjects, and they have been taught to do so by statesmen whom they respect. Burke tells them "the people have no interest in disorder; if they do wrong, it is rather an error than a crime. But it is otherwise with the governing power. A weak and deranged government is the usual cause of revolt." And as the English accept the verdict of a jury as a practical way of settling a matter in dispute, Burke tells them to accept the opinion of any people respecting the merits of the government under which it lives, as sufficient testimony to the fact of its being good or bad, though not sufficient testimony as to the cause of its goodness or badness. "Men are rarely wrong in their feelings about public misconduct, and rarely right in their speculations as to its cause." On this principle our countrymen ought to confine themselves to saying, "The Romans are probably right in complaining of abuses in the government, and probably wrong in attributing those abuses to the fact of the government being clerical." But while their instincts make them admit the first part of this conclusion, their Protestantism prevents their admitting the second part, and predisposes them to dispense with the proof which they ought to require, that the popular opinion in Italy is as popular as it is said to be.

As to the reproaches made against Lord Palmerston, we have already said enough to show that we sympathise with them. Something is due to the system, something to the man. If the system of guarantees had not been fundamentally rotten, Lord Palmerston would never have been able to draw from it such absurd consequences; and a less intemperate man would have hesitated before he allowed himself all licenses that the oversights of the law-maker rendered possible for him. The Duke of Wellington or Sir Robert Peel would have found means to work the system without exaggerating its evils; Lord Palmerston made it ridiculous and untenable by pushing it too far. But political principles always come to some such end. Burke has a passage which may apply not only to the principle of European guarantees, but to any other contrivance, the maintenance of which be-

comes difficult or impossible: "That man thinks much too highly, and therefore he thinks weakly and delusively, of any contrivance of human wisdom who believes that it can make any sort of approach to perfection. There is not, there never was, a principle of government under heaven that does not, in the very pursuit of the good it proposes, naturally and inevitably lead into some inconvenience which makes it absolutely necessary to counterwork and weaken the application of the first principle itself."

Perhaps it is not a very safe inference; but if the fact that the Pope has not yet excommunicated by name those who have invaded his territories proves any thing more than the kindness and consideration of the Holy Father even for his most rebellious children, it seems to show the existence of a latent idea that Victor Emmanuel is more or less the creature of circumstances and the expression of his age, that he is rather a symptom of the disease than the root of it. At least it shows that the forbearance that has hitherto been exercised will not be forgotten, if any opening should be given for reconciliation, and that all hopes of an arrangement are not yet extinguished; and even if they were, the confidence of Catholics in the stability of the Church would not be damped. Old men are still living who can remember the despair with which Catholics saw the Bishops and monasteries deprived of their territorial possessions by the French Revolution, and the clergy reduced to be mere stipendiaries of the State; it was feared that the Church would lose all her freedom, and that the episcopate would become a mere appendage of the temporal government, a mere spiritual and moral police. How happily have these fears been falsified! The French prelates are not such courtiers as of yore, not so dependent on the will of the ruler of the State; and the Church has gained ground in men's hearts in proportion to the loss of her broad lands. A sort of analogy may perhaps hold good now. No Catholic can be justified in consenting to the spoliation of the Papal States; yet every believer will be sure that in any case, if a new system should arise on the ruins of the present one, it will be better adapted than its predecessor to secure the spiritual independence of the Church amid the complications of the coming centuries.

THE POOR-LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

THE Poor-Law Amendment Act (4th and 5th Wm. IV. c. 76) was passed to remedy the defects of the previously existing laws for the relief of the poor, which tended to engender the pauperism they were designed to relieve. The old parish workhouse was the asylum of the aged and infirm, and the mass of the poor were relieved at their homes by weekly allowances. No effectual supervision existed, and relief was continued in very many cases after the recipients were earning the usual wages of persons of their calling; and, in agricultural parishes especially, these payments had the effect—first, of leading the population to depend on the poor-rates as a sort of rate-aid over and above the wages they could earn; and, secondly, of lowering the rate of wages in the district. What was no doubt originally a fraud—viz. the receipt of relief by an able-bodied labourer—became, if not a rule, a practice; and the result was, that the labouring population were fast becoming demoralised and pauperised; whilst the poor-rates, which were rather used in relieving poverty than destitution, were year by year assuming more formidable proportions.

The rally against this state of things was made by the attempt to enforce some really practical and operative test of destitution, and to confine relief to destitution by making it, and not poverty, the only claim for relief. It was argued that the poor-rate was levied compulsorily on rich and poor, and must be expended, not on principles of generosity or charity, but of justice; and that no one had a claim of justice who had any thing in the shape of property on which he could, for ever so short a time, support himself. It was *destitution* only, then, that was to be relieved; and the test of destitution in the case of the able-bodied labourer was to be, that he would give up any remnant of home, and constitute himself an inmate of a workhouse, and become subject to its discipline. This was called the “Workhouse Test.”

For the more general application of this test it was undoubtedly necessary that large extra workhouse accommodation should be provided; and it was also considered that so great a change could not be worked out with any uniformity in parishes under the control of vestries. Accordingly power was taken to form parishes into large unions; and the superintendence of the new scheme was not confided to local bodies, but vested in Commissioners.

The Act under consideration gave unlimited powers to these Commissioners, except upon two points: (1) they could not interfere in any individual case for the purpose of ordering relief; and (2) it was also unnecessarily and, as it has turned out, mischievously enacted, that they could not authorise the education of any child in a religious creed other than that professed by its parents, or in any "to which such parents shall object."

We propose in the present article to consider the effect of this act on the Catholic poor as respects their religious rights and welfare, and the education of their children.

The portions of the Act which we shall have more especially to notice are, the fifteenth, the nineteenth, the forty-sixth, and the one hundred and nineteenth sections.

The fifteenth section is that which puts the administration of relief to the poor under the control and direction of the Commissioners, with the single limitation that they cannot order relief in any individual case. And this clause, which confers such large powers on them, also *requires* them to make use of their powers, and "to make and issue all such rules, orders, and regulations for the management of the poor, for the government of workhouses, and the education of the children therein, and for the management of parish poor children [under a recited Act] . . . and for carrying this Act into execution in all other respects as they shall think proper."

The nineteenth section we will give verbatim, distinguishing by italics such parts as we shall have afterwards more particularly to notice. It is as follows:

"And be it further enacted, that no rules, orders, or regulations of the said Commissioners, nor any bye-laws at present in force or to be hereafter made, shall oblige any inmate of any workhouse to attend any religious service which may be celebrated in a mode contrary to the religious principles of such inmate; nor shall authorise the education of any child in such workhouse in any religious creed other than that professed by the parents or surviving parent of such child, *and to which such parents or parent shall object*, or in the case of an orphan *to which the godfather or godmother of such orphan shall so object*; provided also that it shall, and may, be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate of such workhouse, at all times in the day, *on the request of such inmate*, to visit such workhouse for the purpose of affording religious assistance to such inmate, and also for the purpose of instructing his child or children in the principles of their religion."

The forty-sixth section empowers the Commissioners to direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union to

appoint such paid officers with such qualifications as the said Commissioners shall think necessary for superintending or assisting in the administration of the relief and employment of the poor, and for otherwise carrying the Act into effect. The Commissioners are also to determine the continuance in office or dismissal and the payment of such officers.

The one hundred and nineteenth section declares that the word "officer" shall be construed to extend to any clergyman, schoolmaster, &c.

This law has of course to be read or interpreted in consistence and agreement with the common law, where it does not expressly repeal or abrogate it; and, where more than one interpretation of any of its provisions is grammatically possible, that interpretation is to be preferred which is most agreeable to the common law and the special objects of the Act.

But both the powers conferred on the Commissioners and the centralising principle of the Act were very unpopular. They were said to be unconstitutional, or at least opposed to the general principle of local government. The Commissioners were called the "Three Kings of Somerset House,"—which was the original seat of the Commissioners,—and the workhouses were held up to popular hatred as "Bastilles." The law was unpopular with both the working and the middle classes; and they found a ready and able organ for the expression of their distaste in the *Times* newspaper, which, under the influence of the late Mr. Walter, M.P. for Berkshire, continued from day to day, with a persistency and consistency which form an unique exception to its versatile policy, to attack the law as inhuman and tyrannical. The opposition of the *Times* outlived the vigour of the popular dislike; for, in point of fact, something in the way of accommodation had been effected by the prudence of the Commissioners, who relaxed the stringent application of the test, and gradually surmounted the resistance of the middle classes. There remains, however, to this day, a chronic feud between the central and the local authorities,—the Commissioners and the boards of guardians or local vestries; the consequence of which is, that the former limit their interference with the latter as much as possible, consistently with working out in the main the objects of the Act. This abstention on the part of the Commissioners has been especially remarkable on all points connected with the religious discipline of workhouses, and has been carried to such an extent that for the past seven or eight years the power of the Commissioners to require the appointment of chaplains has been disused. The

Act and the authority conferred on the Commissioners being, as we have said, and as is notorious, unpopular, they were not likely to exercise their powers in favour of the Catholic inmates of workhouses and schools. Setting aside the possible Protestant prejudices of the Commissioners, it was not likely that they would exercise an unpopular power for an unpopular purpose; and they have accordingly left the Catholic inmates at the mercy of Protestant boards of guardians, only interfering in such flagrant cases as were brought before them, and where the illegality of the proceedings of the guardians was too plain and undeniable to be overlooked.

We shall arrange our comments on this Act under the four following heads :

I. The proper interpretation of the Act itself as it stands.

II. The interpretation which it has received, and the practices which have grown out of this interpretation.

III. The amendments necessary to secure the interests of the Catholic poor. And

IV. A course which might be adopted to obtain such amendments.

I. *The interpretation of the Act itself.*

The fifteenth section, as we have seen, confers on the Commissioners well-nigh unlimited powers for regulating workhouses and for the education of children, and requires them to exercise these powers. Had there been no other reference in the Act to internal administration, or to the education of children, it would probably have been held, that as, by the common law of the land, no one possessed the power of compelling any British subject to attend any religious services inconsistent with his religious belief; as the necessary disciplinary rules precluded inmates from seeking religious services and religious instruction and consolation outside the walls of the workhouse; and as the common law forbade any guardian, whether natural, testamentary, or provisional, from educating any child in any other than its legal religion, if that could be ascertained,—the Commissioners would be required, and might be compelled by law, to *provide* religious necessaries, or to order that religious necessaries *should be provided*, for the inmates of workhouses, including the education of children in their legal religion; such religion to be decided by the ordinary rules of law and equity applicable to the question. As a consequence of this interpretation, and of the usage of appointing Church-of-England chaplains to supply the religious necessities of inmates of that way of

thinking, the *modus operandi* of supplying the religious necessities of Catholic inmates, including children, would be the appointment of Catholic chaplains and schoolmasters to give the Catholic poor the benefit of such necessary services and instruction as they were precluded, by the discipline of the house and their own poverty, from seeking for themselves.

Against such an interpretation it might be urged, that its application to all religious sects would be simply impossible; and that the religious necessities of members of the State Church were only supplied because the State recognised its own religion only, the clergy and members of which were a privileged class.

The answer to this is, that to suppose some ultimate impossibility in the application of a principle is no objection to its application until the impossibility arrives; and that, by the very nature of the difficulty, the impossibility of its application, if indeed it ever arise, can apply to a very few persons; for it is their extremely small number and the want of ministers of their opinions which constitute the difficulty or impossibility. The same objection might be urged against the supply of any religious instruction whatever. It might *now* (but not when the Act was passed) be also shown that the experiment of having three chaplains—one of the Established Church, one of the Catholic Church, and one Dissenter—had been tried in Ireland, and found to meet all the requirements of the case. As to the privileges of the members and clergy of the Established Church, they are defined by law; and amongst them is no superior claim to participate in the benefits of local taxation. The application of the parliamentary grant for education is a precedent.

This interpretation would be helped by the forty-sixth and one hundred and nineteenth sections, the former of which expressly empowers the Commissioners to direct the appointment of necessary officers, whilst the latter includes clergymen and schoolmasters under the term "officers."

If religious services, instruction, and education are necessary and are to be supplied, the clergymen who are to be appointed must be able to supply the want; and the Catholic clergy can alone do it in the case of Catholic inmates.

Against this interpretation it has been pretended by the Poor-Law Commissioners that the legal meaning of the word "clergyman" is "minister of the Established Church." The legal opinion on which this is founded has not been produced, nor the authority for it disclosed. We do not believe that, if it were decided that the requirements of the case and the harmonious and effective working of the Act required the

appointment of Catholic chaplains, this restricted interpretation of the word "clergyman" could be so clearly and authoritatively established as to defeat what would otherwise appear to be the meaning and object of the Act.

But if this interpretation of the Act be adopted, the nineteenth clause is evidently unnecessary. The House of Lords is generally thought a better legal authority than the House of Commons; and it is some confirmation of our interpretation that the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Brougham, rejected this clause as *unnecessary*, declaring that by the law of the land, as it then stood, the acts against which the clause was levelled were already illegal.

It is very material to bear in mind that this clause was avowedly introduced, not to restrict the measure of religious freedom allowed by or growing out of the Act, but to extend it; or rather to guard against such an abuse of the almost unlimited powers of the Commissioners in the matter of religion. The House of Commons unwisely, as we think, retained the clause, and gave the following reasons, in conference with the Lords, for maintaining it:

1. Because it is essentially requisite for the preservation of religious freedom that the provisions contained in this clause should be, and should be known and acknowledged to be, the law of the land; and such declaration is more especially necessary in a measure so deeply interesting to the bulk of the community, and affecting every class of her Majesty's subjects, whatever may be their religious persuasion.

2. Because though it may be true that no new law, or change of the law, is introduced by this clause, yet it relates to some matters which have not hitherto been specifically defined by any act of parliament, or recognised as law by any series of decisions; and therefore it is highly expedient that the legality of the provisions contained in the said clause should be made manifest beyond the possibility of doubt by express declaration.

3. Because, even supposing such a clause not to be necessary, less evil would arise from a superfluous declaratory enactment than from the possible existence of a doubt on a subject so nearly connected with the religious feelings and consciences of the people.

The House of Lords gave way, and the clause stands part of the Act, and must be interpreted in harmony with its express language, with the other parts of the Act, and with the common law of the land.

Its only affirmative enactment is, that it shall be lawful for a minister of the religion of any inmate of a workhouse to

visit the workhouse, *at all times in the day*, on the request of such inmate, for the purposes of affording religious instruction to such inmate, and of instructing his children in the principles of their religion.

If our previous interpretation of the Act, independently of this part of the nineteenth section, be allowed, and if we have correctly laid down the common law, it would appear that the meaning of the above is to secure religious instruction to any individual inmates and their children who are not supplied with it by the ordinary arrangements of the workhouse; so that in no case whatever shall any inmate be deprived of religious instruction, if he desire it, and if any minister of his religion will afford it.

The nineteenth section, by its first part, also forbids the Commissioners to abuse the large powers conferred on them (1) by compelling any inmate to attend any religious service celebrated in a mode contrary to his religious principles, or (2) by educating any child except in the creed of its parents or surviving parent, "and to which such parents or parent shall object." The language of this portion of the clause is one of those legislative hashes which often grow out of amendments and amendments of amendments introduced in debate in the House of Commons. The Lords manage these things better. Independently of the words, "and to which such parents or parent shall object," the meaning is plain enough—on no account whatever was religious liberty to be infringed by any rule compelling an inmate to attend a religious service he objected to, nor were his children to be educated in any other than his religion. The words just quoted were put in as an amendment, to avoid the necessity of too minute and fanciful a classification. There is no doubt at all that, for every practical purpose, the poor may be divided into three great classes: Established Churchmen, Catholics, and Dissenters. This division is perhaps too minute; and we may affirm that practically, in these days, for the purposes of religious services and education amongst the poor, the distinction is rather between Protestants and Catholics; and, in the vast majority of cases, the religious feelings of the poor would be fully met by the supply of religious instruction by means of the ministrations of the Church-of-England and Catholic clergy. A Dissenter does not ordinarily object to receive the ministrations of a Church-of-England clergyman, nor have the Dissenting clergy ever shown a wish to catechise or instruct the inmates of workhouses; from which it may be inferred that neither they nor the people who follow them object to receive the assistance, at least in workhouses, of the

State clergy. The intention of this clause was, then, to preserve full liberty of worship and religious education in individual cases which could not be provided for by any supply calculated to meet the every-day wants of large bodies of the poor. The words, "any religious service which may be celebrated in a mode," &c., would quite admit the supposition that the Act contemplated the performance of religious services other than those of the Church of England; for if these only had been in the mind of the Legislature, such wide and indefinite language would hardly have been used, but the services intended would have been called those of the Church of England. So, also, the word "clergyman" is one which includes the clergy of all denominations; and if the Legislature had intended to exclude all except the clergy of the State Church, there are words commonly used in acts of parliament* which would effectually have expressed this restriction. That such language was not used, but a word adopted instead which would include the clergy of all other denominations, makes it highly probable that it was the intention of the Legislature to employ the word "clergyman" in its general acceptation. No one will contend that this wider interpretation is radically bad and totally inadmissible; and if it be not bad and inadmissible, it is that which ought to be adopted as the only one which gives a reading of the Act in conformity with the common law, the public policy of the country, and the public good. This interpretation of the Poor-Law Amendment Act was not only an admissible one, but a fair, legal, and constitutional one, in 1834, when the Act was passed. But subsequent legislation, and subsequent declarations of public policy, would, we believe, render it the only legal and constitutional interpretation, if the Act might be read by the light of *ex post facto* legislation and public acts.

But though this be the fair and legal interpretation, we cannot venture to affirm that no other is possible; whilst it is quite certain that if another, more agreeable to Protestant prejudices, and more discouraging and oppressive to the Catholic poor, would at all hold water, that other would certainly be adopted by the administrative authorities and allowed by the Courts.

Even if such an interpretation as we have contended for had been theoretically admitted, it would never have been practically adopted nor fairly carried out. For the machinery provided for carrying out the Act is not only inadequate, but the antagonism between the Commissioners and the boards of

* Thus, the Prison-Discipline Act requires the justices to appoint a chaplain who shall be a clergyman of the Church of England.

guardians (who are ignorant and bigoted bodies) is so great, that the Commissioners would never have incurred the difficulty and unpopularity of exercising their directorial power in favour of Catholic paupers and their children, nor insisted on the appointment of Catholic chaplains when they have even ceased to insist on the appointment of a Church-of-England one. It must also be remembered, and this is a point of the utmost practical importance, that, without the appointment of Catholic chaplains to look after their interests, the Catholic poor would be ignorant of their rights, or, when they acquired some knowledge of them, too broken in spirit to encounter the difficulty of vindicating them in the face of hostile boards of guardians and masters of workhouses.

We now proceed to the next division of our subject.

II. *The interpretation which the Act has received, and the practices which have grown out of this interpretation.*

First, then, the word "clergyman" is construed to mean a clergyman of the Church of England; and, as a consequence of this, the Catholic poor (1) are entirely deprived of any supply of religious instruction or any religious services, except those which they can obtain from the charity of their clergy and the allowance of their ministrations by the guardians, and (2) are subject to the visits and proselytising influence of the authorities and the Protestant chaplains.

The practical working of this cannot be understood unless it be also known that the discipline of large houses is supposed to justify the rule, in virtue of which no adult is allowed to leave the house on Sundays if he or she be under sixty-five years of age; that, with but few exceptions, and those at the charge of the Catholic clergy of the neighbourhood, no Catholic services are celebrated within the house; and that children whose parents or god-parents have made those claims, and gone through those formalities necessary to obtain occasional instruction from a priest, are at all other times treated and educated as Protestants.

But the whole animus of the interpretation which has been adopted in practice will be perhaps better understood from the meaning which has been attributed to the nineteenth clause. This clause, intended for the preservation of religious liberty, has perhaps been the cause of more religious oppression to the poor, and of more trouble and vexation to their pastors, than any enactment of the Legislature since the avowedly penal legislation, which the House of Commons has more than acknowledged to be a dead letter, but has refused expressly to repeal.

The meaning which has been given to this section is, that all children are to be educated Protestants, *unless* their parents or god-parents actively object; and so many difficulties are thrown in the way of their doing so, that the number of children whom the priest is allowed to visit is ridiculously small in proportion to the *ascertained* number of the Catholic children in schools supported out of the poor-rates. Again, that part of the section which gives the licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate permission to visit him at all times of the day *at his request*, for the purpose of affording him or his children religious instruction, has been construed to mean, that each time such inmate desires a visit, he must ask for one; the rule being, one request, one visit. The very same meaning ought in consistency to be applied to such visits for the instruction of children; but the same words when applied to children ordinarily lead to the permission for a priest to visit them once a week. In all other respects the children are educated as Protestants.

With regard to Catholic adults, there is no provision made for their instruction in any workhouse in England, although in all populous towns they constitute a large proportion of the whole number of the inmates of the workhouses, and in some towns in Lancashire an absolute majority. In some few cases unlimited access is allowed to the priest, and he is even permitted to celebrate Mass in the house; but these attendances and services are always furnished at the priest's own expense, or rather constitute a sort of supplementary voluntary poor-rate on his parish.

By way of illustrating the interpretation of this section as applied to children, we are allowed to quote the following extract from an unpublished letter written by a gentleman who has devoted much time to the question. He writes:

“I pass now to the case of pauper children. And here, dropping all abstract discussion of right or wrong, I simply expose the state of the law by a few facts, either within my own knowledge, or which I have so thoroughly tested as to be able to vouch for their accuracy.

1. A friend of mine, a county magistrate, once used his authority or position to examine the registry of a London workhouse. By the rules of the Commissioners the creed of the inmates should have been entered on the register. My friend was surprised to see so many Irish names entered as *Protestants*. He selected thirty-five children so entered, and asked to see them. I need not enter into the particulars of the examination; *all of them were Catholics*, and were acknowledged to be so by the master, who was present.

2. The Provincial of the order of the Passionists at Highgate, whom I have the honour to be intimately acquainted with, and who has pastoral charge of the Highgate Ecclesiastical District, lately called on me, and said that he had been told that there were a number of Catholic children in the Industrial School there who were Catholics, but who were receiving a strictly Protestant education; the number, he had been told, was fourteen or fifteen.* Desirous of doing his duty by these poor children, he asked my advice as to how he should proceed. I recommended him to call at once on the master, ask him if he had any Catholic children, and, if he acknowledged that he had, to ask for access to them. He did this, and received for answer, that no registry was kept at the school, that the registry was kept at the workhouse, and that the master knew of no Roman Catholic children, and had no means of knowing—that he received them all as Protestants, and that they were educated as Protestants. I gathered from the Rev. Father Provincial's account of this conversation, that the meaning of *not knowing* was *not having any official knowledge*. I had quite expected some such answer; and I then recommended the Provincial to apply to the guardians of Clerkenwell Workhouse. He did so; and after receiving a refusal to allow him to inspect the registry, asked the Board to examine it themselves, and let him have the result. This was also refused. One of the guardians gave as a reason for this refusal of any information, that the children were well cared for and properly educated *without the assistance of the Catholic clergy*.

3. In the R. C. Ecclesiastical District of St Mary and St. Michael's, Commercial Road East, there is a population of 16,000 Catholics (a careful census taken by the clergy a year ago gave 15,400 odd). These people are very poor, Irish labourers and dock workmen for the most part. The children of the poor receiving parish relief are believed by the clergy to amount to 500, who are scattered amongst the Industrial Schools at Limehouse, Plashet, and Forest Gate. The clergy ascertained a year ago, and I have before me the list of them, the names of 146 Catholic children in those schools who are Catholics, or were Catholics when they entered them. Of these only twenty-nine are allowed to see the priest once a week. In every other respect they are educated like the rest of the children. I send your lordship† herewith the list of the names.

This population of, say, 16,000 are not only very poor, but engaged in hazardous pursuits. They would certainly, I think, contribute as many as 500 children (but I have not investigated this point‡) to the workhouse. For, *first*, the population are very poor, and chiefly Irish; *secondly*, the Irish marry young, and are prolific;

* This would be under the average number I should expect to find out of the total number of 150 children educated in the school.

† This letter was addressed to Lord Brougham.

‡ Looking at this point since, I find that 320 children would be the average number yielded by a population of 16,000; but this supposes the population to be averagely circumstanced, which is not the case in the instance in question.

and, *thirdly*, the nature of the occupation of the poor in that district often disables the father and pauperises the family.

4. I will now give a very pregnant example, drawn from an Industrial School, in which the Catholics have more liberty and advantages than in any other school in the country. I refer to the Kirkdale Industrial School; and in this, the most favourable specimen I have been able to find, I assert that there is not one child receiving an education in conformity with the principles of the Catholic religion.

In this school about 600 children are educated, of whom about one half are Catholics.*

The Protestant children have the benefit of a paid Protestant chaplain, under whom there is a staff of four Protestant schoolmasters, three Protestant schoolmistresses, and twenty Protestant pupil-teachers. In fact, all the *authorities* of the school are Protestant.

The Catholic children have the gratuitous services of a neighbouring priest, and of two male and two female pupil-teachers.

The education is subject to any express directions of the guardians (of the rates, not of the poor), under the direction of the Protestant chaplain.

The English History in use in this school by Protestants and Catholics alike contains, *inter alia*, the following :

‘The corrupt doctrine that was now beginning to prevail in the Church of Rome on the subject of the Lord’s Supper’ (p. 14). ‘Worshiping of images was now gaining ground. Attempts had been already made to enforce celibacy on the clergy’ (p. 15). ‘One of the perverse practices which was remedied at the Reformation, the withholding the cup from the laity in the administration of the Holy Communion, may be traced to this period’ (p. 50). ‘Corruptions which the Church of Rome had engrafted upon the Scriptures’ (p. 57). ‘It is because our Church is obliged to continue in a state of protestation against the errors of Rome that she is sometimes called Protestant. But she is something more than this, unwilling as the Romanists are to admit her claim. She is a true branch of the Holy Catholic Church, of which the creed speaks, though she be not in communion with the Church of Rome’ (p. 81). Henry VIII. ‘insisted to the last on retaining the Romish expression of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.’ ‘The task of restoring

* The number of children on the 10th of this month was 537. In the corresponding week of last year it was 850.

I have since received a return of the children in this school on the 17th instant, as follows :

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Protestant.....	162	107	269
Catholic.....	164	139	303
Total	326	246	572

From this it appears that there were thirty-four Catholics more in number than Protestants.

the cup to the laity, and preparing men's minds for an intelligent reception of the blessing conveyed in that sacrament, was reserved for the purer hands of his successor' (p. 85). 'The comparatively modern corruptions of Romanism were removed. The principal of these were, the practice of praying in an unknown tongue; the withholding the Bible from general use; the enforced celibacy of the clergy; the doctrine called transubstantiation, which we have already explained; the denial of the cup to the laity; the undue honour paid to saints and images; the worship paid to the Virgin Mary; the doctrine of purgatory, and the notion connected with it, that remission can be purchased from the Pope in favour of ourselves or others' (p. 88). 'The Romanists in England seem at first to have acquiesced in the reforms which Elizabeth brought in. They might well have been unsettled by the decrees of the Council of Trent, which pretended to be an Œcumenical Council' (p. 100). 'The gunpowder-plot must ever be classed with the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the cruelties of the Inquisition in Spain, as instances of the baleful effects produced by that false zeal in religion, which the Church of Rome has so much encouraged' (p. 111). 'Released from the shackles of the Romish superstition' (p. 114).

The Rev. H. Gibson, the Catholic priest who gives his gratuitous attention to this school, appealed to the guardians against Catholic children being compelled to use this book, without effect. He consequently complained to the Commissioners in a letter dated the 25th January last. The receipt of this letter was acknowledged on the 9th February; but he heard nothing further, until, after a second letter to the Commissioners, dated 11th April, he was informed, under date the 19th idem, that the local authorities had passed, on the 4th February, the following resolution :

'Resolved, that the Committee, having taken into their consideration the letter of the Poor-Law Board, containing the complaint of the Rev. H. Gibson against the History of England in use in the schools, and having deliberately considered the question, can see no reason for discontinuing any history published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.'

In a further correspondence the Commissioners regret that a book, disapproved by the Rev. H. Gibson, should be in use; but they do not think any advantage would at present result from their again addressing the local authorities.

Certainly none but the pig-headed ignoramuses who compose local boards, vestries, and committees, would have been such idiots as to put forth that they had considered a very much wider question than what was submitted to them, and to pretend that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had never published a book unfit to be generally used in a school conducted on the system of mixed education, and on that ground to decide that the book in question was fit to be so used.

The truth is, that all these children are being educated Protestants, with the disadvantage that they are also being taught that

Protestantism is false, and something else true, which again, for the rest of the day, and from the *authorities*, and in their class-books, they are told is a superstition and a corruption.

5. As one further illustration of the state of the law and practice in the matter of the education of Catholic children, I must refer to an order of the Poor-Law Board, prepared by the late Government, and signed and issued by the present Government.

The negotiations which I and others carried on with the late Government led us to entertain great hopes that the whole subject of the education of children, and the religious rights of the poor in receipt of parochial relief, would be favourably considered. These hopes, I speak for myself, were mainly grounded on the full attention paid to my representations by Mr. Sotheron Estcourt when he was Chief Commissioner, and afterwards when he was Home Secretary. The only actual result, however, was the preparation of the following order, subsequently signed by Mr. Villiers, Sir G. C. Lewis, and Mr. Gladstone :

ARTICLE I.—That whenever there shall be in the workhouse any orphan child under the age of fourteen years, the master of the said workhouse shall enter in such In-door Relief List, as the religious persuasion of such orphan, the religious creed which was professed by the father of such orphan at the time of his death, if the master know, or can ascertain the same by reasonable inquiry; or, if the same cannot be so ascertained, the creed professed by the mother of such orphan at the time of her death, if the same be known to the said master, or can be by him in like manner ascertained ;

Provided always, that if the godfather or godmother of such orphan shall make any objection, this article shall not have any force or application.

ARTICLE II.—Such orphan, while an inmate of the workhouse, shall not be instructed in any other religious creed than that so entered, unless he or she, being above the age of twelve years, shall desire to receive instruction in some other creed, and unless he or she be considered by the Poor-Law Board to be competent to exercise a reasonable judgment upon the subject.

ARTICLE III.—The master of the workhouse shall, subject to the directions of the guardians of the Union, take all practicable steps in order to procure the attendance at the workhouse from time to time, for the purpose of affording religious instruction to such orphan, of some minister of the religious persuasion of the said orphan, as ascertained according to the provisions of this order, or according to the information of the godfather or godmother ;

Provided always, that such attendance shall take place at such times as shall not be inconsistent with the discipline and good order of the workhouse.

ARTICLE IV.—The provisions herein contained applicable to the master of the workhouse shall extend to the matron, in cases

in which there shall be no master, or in which he shall be absent, or his office shall be vacant.

This order was received with a burst of indignation by the guardians of the poor. They appealed to the Poor-Law Board, and at once received the comforting assurance, founded on the words, 'subject to the directions of the Guardians of the Union' in the third article, that the order was not compulsory on them.

I am not a lawyer, but this strikes me as simply absurd. It was, no doubt, within the discretion of the guardians what directions they should give, so as to carry the order into effect; but I hold it as certain, that if the order were within the powers of the Commissioners, the guardians were bound to give such directions as were necessary for carrying it out.

This, I fancy, struck the more astute of the guardians, or, more probably, their legal advisers; and a second point was accordingly taken, viz., that the order was illegal, inasmuch as if it were complied with, and the master were to 'procure' religious instruction for Catholic orphans, the guardians must pay for it, and that the rates could not legally be charged with such payments.

This may be sound law. I am rather inclined, looking at the whole Act, including the nineteenth clause, to believe that it is. At any rate the Commissioners have given in, and acknowledged doubts of the legality of the order, which is now a dead letter.

It is either legal or illegal. If it is legal, its history exemplifies the spirit of the guardians, and the cowardice or impotence of the Commissioners. If it is illegal, I should not desire a better illustration of the law as it stands, than this same illegality.

Talk of the Mortara case—why here in England we Papists, with Queen, Lords, and Commons looking on, are taxed expressly to provide for the systematic and wholesale and forced proselytism of the children of the poor of our communion."

In virtue of rules which are issued by the Commissioners, and which have the force of law, the master of every workhouse is bound to keep a register of the inmates of the workhouse, in which, amongst other things, their religion is recorded. No one but the officers of the house have access to this register, and even if faithfully kept it would be of little practical utility; but in the majority of cases, and particularly in those where there is a disposition to curtail the rights of Catholic inmates, their religion is either not recorded, or they are set down wholesale as Protestants. This is almost universally the case with respect to children. Still the existence of such a rule seems to imply that in framing their system the Commissioners conceived that those inmates who did not profess the tenets of the Establishment were entitled to some privileges or distinction which they do not, except in very few cases, actually enjoy. If the Act is fairly interpreted and

carried out in practice, the registration of the creed of an inmate would hardly seem to be of any utility to him or any one.

We now pass to—

III. *The Amendments necessary to secure the interests of the Catholic Poor.*

No one can, we think, doubt that the smaller the alteration of the law which would secure to Catholic adults the means of attending to their religious duties, and to Catholic children education in the Catholic faith, the better; and that the more such alterations can be made in accordance with principles of legislation already applied to somewhat similar questions, the better also. The amendments proposed, even though they would be unnecessary if the existing law had been fairly interpreted, must also be framed with reference to the unfair, or even illegal, interpretation, which the Act has, as a matter of fact, received. We must particularly insist on this as an excuse for what would, as we think, be the apparently unnecessary as well as trifling character of the two first amendments which we shall propose.

The first is simply to insert the words “secular and religious” before the word “education” in the fifteenth clause, which would then read: “And be it further enacted that, from and after the passing of this Act, the administration of relief to the poor throughout England and Wales, according to the existing laws, or such laws as shall be in force at the time being, shall be subject to the direction and control of the said Commissioners; and for executing the powers given to them by this Act the said Commissioners shall and are hereby authorised and required, from time to time as they shall see occasion, to make and issue all such rules, orders, and regulations for the management of the poor, for the government of workhouses, and the *secular and religious* education of the children therein, and for . . . carrying this Act into execution in all other respects, as they shall think proper; and the said Commissioners,” &c.

The value of this amendment would be that it would expressly throw on the Poor-Law Board the duty of providing—it would “require” them to *provide*—for the religious education of pauper children; whereas at present, in the most favourable cases, the practice is simply to *permit* a certain amount of access to children, which depends entirely on the charity of the neighbouring priest, and is a charge on his parish which ought to be borne by the poor-rate, and which is besides ineffectual for its object, unless it is backed by the

employment of Catholic schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, the withdrawal of active Protestant influences, and a supply of proper books of devotion and harmless books of ordinary instruction.

The next amendment is one which we only give next on account of its trifling character, and because it is like the preceding in this, that it is only called for by the unsound interpretation which the Act has previously received. We have seen that it has been pretended that the word "clergyman," without any words of qualification, means "clergyman of the Established Church." To obviate this pretence, the words "whether of the Church of England or of any other denomination" should be added. This would be expressive of the intention of the Legislature that chaplains of other denominations should, if their services were required, be appointed. And the question whether their services were required or not is one which would be settled, not by the claims of this or that denomination outside the walls of the workhouse, but by the wants of the poor within. In considering what these wants may be, there is theoretically the fear that the thousand-and-one denominations which exist in the country may have each a representative within the walls of the workhouse, and that a corresponding number of chaplains may be required. It may perhaps be feared that the General Baptist will not be able to sit under the ministrations of the Particular Baptist chaplain; that each solitary individual representing one of the several phases of Methodism will require a chaplain to himself; and so on *ad infinitum*; so that the rates will be more heavily charged to supply religious sustenance than to furnish clothes, food, and lodging. Practically, of course, there is no such danger; but to meet the theoretical apprehension of it, we might perhaps insert a proviso that not more than three chaplains, one a clergyman of the Established religion, one a Catholic priest, and one a Protestant dissenter, should be appointed as chaplains of the workhouse, while we reserved for the members of all other denominations the free access of their pastors and the liberty of attending their own services, provided they did not abuse the privilege.

The third amendment we would propose is an important one. It should have preceded the last according to the order of the clauses which it affects; but we wished to dispose first of those amendments which were simply of a declaratory character.

The nineteenth clause is radically bad; for even if it be relieved of the words which have been understood to mean

that the active objection of the parents is necessary in order to prevent the education of their children in some other religion than their own, and of those other words which have been interpreted to mean that an actual and formal request from an inmate is necessary to enable the minister of his "religious persuasion" to visit him, and that one visit only can be allowed for each request, still the clause is open to the fundamental objection that, being declaratory, it inadequately declares the rights it is intended to declare. Striking out the objectionable words, "and to which such parents or parent shall object," and "on the request of such inmate," the clause would still be bad, for it would indicate an uncertain and illusory mode of fulfilling the implied obligation of allowing the free exercise of their religion to adults, and of educating children in the creed of their parents.

First, as to adults. Protection from compulsion is extended to them; but whilst the conditions of relief require disciplinary rules which cut them off from that supply of religious instruction which they might obtain outside the house, the clause, omitting the most objectionable words, does not require that such instruction should be supplied to them within, but leaves the matter entirely to the ability and good will of the minister of their "religious persuasion" outside the house.

The supply of religious services and instruction according to the creed of the workhouse inmate is as necessary to the pauper, to the discipline of the house, and to the general good of the community outside, as the relief of the pauper's bodily necessities. To lodge and feed the destitute poor is necessary for the preservation of their own bodies; but to meet their spiritual wants, to sustain and elevate, rather than to neglect and depreciate, their moral character, is essential both for their own welfare and *that of the community*. And the neglect of the duty is already producing this effect: that the amended system of parochial in-door relief is active in the production of pauperism, and in that demoralisation of the poor from which pauperism naturally flows.

A compulsory legal provision for the relief of destitution, administered, too, by the vain and ignorant class of men from whom the guardians, so called, of the poor, and the officers (except the chaplain) of the workhouse are chosen, is no sufficient substitute for that wise and discriminating charity which the Church formerly dispensed by the hands of the clergy, secular and religious. In the old days, the poor had really guardians, and the bond of charity was kept unbroken between them and those who ministered to their

wants. It is the one great drawback on the administration of relief out of the compulsorily raised funds called poor-rates in the present day, that this bond of mutual affection is wanting. The chaplain is the only link now left which binds the imprisoned pauper to society, and affords a means of elevating his status and sustaining his hopes. Displace the minister of religion, and treat the pauper like a hungry beast who must be fed to keep him from preying on your preserves, and you make him the brute you take him for. He becomes a source of infection to the class from which he springs, and to which he occasionally returns; and the amended Poor-Law evolves, like its predecessor, the pauperism it is designed to control and relieve. In a word,—suppress the ministrations of the clergy, and the workhouse becomes the pestilent centre for the demoralisation of the poor and their depression in the scale of humanity.

But not only is the active interposition of the clergy in the Poor-Law administrative system required, to keep up the well-nigh lost bond of charity between the destitute and those who supply their physical necessities; its necessity becomes more apparent when we consider how hopeless must be the attempt at the exercise of any adequate amount of moral influence by the masters and matrons of workhouses. These people have before them a far more difficult task than the governor of a gaol; for the inmates of the workhouse cannot possibly be subjected to that penal discipline which suffices in the gaol to preserve order and external decency, and to prevent, in some degree, the spread of moral contagion by some one or two of the most debased inmates. Yet the more difficult task of government in a workhouse is committed to an inferior and worse-paid class of men. The governors of our gaols are ordinarily gentlemen, and their pay is about 600*l.* a year, whilst the master of a workhouse is taken from a class of men who aspire to a salary of from 80*l.* to 150*l.* a year.

But if the moral influence of the clergy should be brought to bear on the inmates of the workhouse, that influence must be exercised by means of the clergy of the denominations to which the inmates belong. Lord Palmerston has, on more than one occasion, not only admitted, but expressly and pointedly insisted on, this necessity; and probably no public man of the present day will be found overtly to deny it, and to profess that those portions of the local rates which are levied on all classes without distinction of creed, and which are expended on affording religious consolation and instruction to the destitute poor, should be monopolised by a single class, and that class an already privileged and endowed one.

Secondly, as to children. The clause, even supposing it not to require the special request of an inmate for the access of the clergy of his denomination to his children, seems, in granting that access, to prescribe what is considered sufficient for the religious education of the children; and what is prescribed is no doubt satisfactory to the Protestant dissenting laity and clergy, since they do not object, and since the latter do not exercise the privileges reserved for them. But it is not so with Catholic children. Catholics only can judge of what is necessary for Catholic education; and if there were any difference of opinion on the subject, and if the authorities were not satisfied with the evidence of the Catholic laity, clergy, and bishops, they could appeal to the Holy See, and receive a definite, authoritative, and conclusive answer. What is required for Catholic children is not what Protestants consider to be the means of a Catholic education, but what Catholics consider to be so. Now it is certain that the visits of a priest to children subject at all other times to Protestant influences, and taught by Protestants out of Protestant class-books, are insufficient for a child's education in the Catholic faith. The result of such training is not that the child will become a Protestant or a Catholic, but that he will become an infidel. We are not speaking of the system, however objectionable it may be, of the Irish National Board or of the godless colleges,—a system in which the attempt is made to separate secular and religious instruction, and in secular instruction to use books unobjectionable in themselves to both Catholic and Protestant. What we are speaking of is the admixture of religious instruction by a priest with an avowedly Protestant course of secular instruction, carried on by Protestants out of Protestant books. Both systems are incurably evil; but the latter does not even pretend to what Protestants themselves account fair and reasonable.

The clause is bad, *first*, because the education which it would permit is bad; and, *secondly*, because it leaves the supply of an essential commodity—to wit, religious education—to the charity of persons outside who have paid their poor-rates, and should not be called on to provide any thing further out of their own means. The most liberal interpretation which could possibly be given to this clause might, but for the active charity of the priest and the Catholic community, leave destitute Catholic children, who are chargeable to the poor-rates, *unsupplied* with even the inferior article they are *permitted* to obtain if they can.

For this unmendable clause we would substitute the following:

“ And be it further enacted, that the Commissioners may and are hereby required to issue orders that the master or other chief officer of any workhouse, district, industrial, or other school, supported by or assisted out of the poor-rates, shall keep a register of the names and ages, and religious creed, denomination, or persuasion of the inmates; and that such register shall be open to the inspection at all reasonable times of the minister of the nearest licensed church or chapel of any denomination, except in the case in which a clergyman or minister of such denomination is a chaplain of the house in which the register is kept, in which case such chaplain, and no other minister of the same denomination, shall have access to it. And the Commissioners are further to issue orders whereby the poor of any denomination or persuasion may have such religious services provided for them, and such religious ministrations from a minister of their own denomination, as are essential for their instruction and consolation, and whereby the children of such inmates, or any orphan or deserted child, may be educated in the religion in which they ought by law to be educated; and whereby the guardians of any union, or any other body charged with the relief of the poor in any parish or district, may, if they see fit, establish denominational schools for the maintenance and education of the children of any denomination: or, if the children of any denomination in any such union, parish, or district are, in the opinion of the guardians, too few in number to admit of a separate school for the education of the children who ought by law to be educated in the religious principles of such denomination, then whereby the guardians (or other body charged with the relief of the poor in any parish or district) shall be bound to send such children for their education and maintenance to any school of that denomination which the Commissioners, after inspection, shall certify to be a proper school for the education and maintenance of pauper children: and whereby, if there be no such certified school within the limits of the union, parish, or district, the guardians shall be bound to send such children to some day-school conducted according to the religious principles in which such children ought by law to be educated: or, whereby, if there be no such day-school, the guardians (or other body, &c.) shall be bound, if they can effect such an arrangement, to board such children in some family professing the religious principles in which such children should by law be educated, so as that in all cases the guardians (or other body, &c.) shall be bound to provide that every child under their care shall be educated in the religion in which such child ought by law to be educated.

Provided nevertheless that the guardians (or other body, &c.) shall not be called on to pay more than a reasonable sum for the maintenance and education of any child; and that if the guardians (or other body, &c.) cannot agree with the managers of such of the above-mentioned schools as to the sum which is to be paid for the maintenance and education, or for the education of any child, the guardians, or other contracting party, may appeal to the Court of Quarter Sessions, whose decision shall be final as to what sum the guardians (or other body, &c.) shall pay."

This clause throws on the master of the house or school the duty of ascertaining and registering the creed of inmates; it gives the ministers of religion power of inspecting the register; and it provides religious services for adults, and religious education for their children.

These three amendments correct the past misinterpretation of the existing law, and throw on the Commissioners the necessity of *providing* what they have been hitherto supplicated to *permit*; the provision, too, would be effectual for its objects, which the permissive arrangements have never been.

Our observations on these three first divisions of our subject have run to so much length that, without discussing possible objections which will perhaps never be made to these amendments, we must proceed briefly to indicate

IV. *A course which might be adopted to obtain such amendments.*

These amendments, or any others which may be accounted better, must be made by Parliament; and in Parliament it is a necessary condition to the passing of any Act that it should be taken up as a ministerial measure. A motion may be carried without the support, and even against the speeches and votes, of the Government; but a Bill cannot hope for success in the crush of legislation unless it is piloted by the minister. This is more especially true of an administrative measure, in which party-men take no very warm interest. The difficulty is increased by the consideration that the amendments proposed will be unpopular with the middle classes outside, and that we cannot look for the active support of the more democratic section of the House; it is therefore necessary to consider how the ministry may be induced to take the measure in hand.

It would appear at first sight satisfactory to reflect that the principles involved in these amendments are admitted by the leading men of the Whig and Conservative parties, and that any violent opposition to them can only be expected from

a small section of men which the House has never hesitated to hear patiently and to disregard absolutely. Even these men—Messrs. Spooner and Newdegate and their few followers—will hardly attempt to defeat such amendments by denying the principle on which they are founded; but may rather be expected to exaggerate the practical administrative difficulty of carrying them out, and to dwell on the necessity of obtaining guarantees against the aggressive policy of the “Roman priesthood.” These people will profess that they are in favour of religious liberty, and well disposed to consider, not only the just claims, but the personal feelings, of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; but they will assert that this is not a layman’s but a priest’s question. If no amendments with the avowed object of defeating the proposed amendment of the law are carried, efforts will still be made for delay, in the hope that the chapter of accidents may favour bigotry and Protestant ascendancy, and avert the loss of the largest and most successful engine of wholesale proselytism now in existence.

The most common form of temporarily defeating any measure of the kind in question is the proposal for referring it to a committee. In the present case it has already, as the result of the debate on Lord Edward Howard’s motion last session, been agreed that the subject shall be brought next session before a committee, to whom the consideration of the whole state of the law is to be referred. It will be most important that this committee should be nominated early in the session, and that a fair proportion of Catholic members should serve on it. There is in this result at least these advantages,—that it will cause less delay than if it were interposed at a later period of the session, as the consequence of a debate on a motion for leave to introduce a bill, or in any later stage of a bill; that it gives formal notice of the necessity of getting up our case; that it affords time for doing so, and also for shaping our demands. We have no excuse for being unprepared with evidence, (1) of the existing interpretation of the law; (2) of the hostile animus of many boards of guardians; and (3) of the inadequacy of the arrangements in those cases in which we are permitted the greatest privileges conceived to be attainable under the law; lastly, we should be prepared with a definite demand of such legislation as will put our clergy and the Catholic poor on the same footing as those of the Established Church. It will not be useless to show, as may easily be done, that the overwhelming majority of the Catholic poor are Irish; since this will not only enlist the sympathy of the people of Ireland, and of their representa-

tives in Parliament, but, inasmuch as the appointment of Catholic chaplains, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses in Ireland has been attended with the best effects, and the Irish system has worked harmoniously and successfully, it leads to an inference in favour of trying the same experiment on the same classes in England. We believe also that it will be found that the whole question will be more favourably entertained by English Protestant members the more it appears as an Irish question rather than an English one; since, according to the popular Protestant view, an Irishman is thought to have a better right to be a Catholic than an Englishman.

But both the shape of the case which is to be made out before the committee, and the nature and extent of the remedies to be proposed, are of vital importance. As to the shape of the case, we wish very strongly to urge on those who may take charge of it, not to go into minute particulars of instances of individual hardship, and especially to avoid all that may lead to the production of the poor themselves as witnesses. Witnesses may be called who have been in correspondence with boards of guardians and with the Poor-Law Commissioners about cases in which there is no dispute as to the facts. The correspondence can be put in; and, if we are not mistaken, it can be proved off the correspondence what hostile interpretation has hitherto been given to the law, and how unfairly the guardians have treated the poor in cases in which the law was not in question, but only the attempt of the guardians to evade its execution. The inference will be, that the law must be declared and amended by the legislative enactment of the necessary means of supplying religious instruction to the poor, who are precluded, by the necessary discipline of the workhouse or by their tender years, from seeking it for themselves.

The Catholic laity should also petition Parliament, shortly and distinctly, for a provision for the spiritual wants of the Catholic poor in workhouses, and for schools in which their children may be honestly and efficiently educated in their faith. These petitions should, we submit, specifically base their prayer on the obligation of all the Queen's subjects to contribute rateably, according to their means, to the rates for the relief of the poor; on the equality of all creeds in the eye of the law; on the hardships that the rates should be perverted from their legitimate use to the perversion of the children of the poor, and that Catholic paupers should not enjoy either liberty of worship or a supply of spiritual necessities, such as are enjoyed by their Protestant fellows; and finally, on the analogy of the equal provision made for Pro-

testants and Catholics in Ireland; of the equal provision made for assisting Protestant and Catholic poor-schools; of the equal favour shown to Protestant and Catholic juvenile offenders in the Reformatory Act; and of the appointment of a fair proportion of Protestant and Catholic chaplains in the army, according to the religious necessities of each class. On these grounds, and supported by such precedents, the petitions might pray for an adequate supply of religious instruction to the destitute poor in workhouses and schools supported out of the rates, and, as a means thereto, for the appointment and payment of Catholic chaplains, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses, and for the separate education of Catholic children under Catholic officials.

The petitions should, we think, be drawn up, not as from this or that Catholic congregation or Catholic parish or district, but as from the Catholic ratepayers of this or that parochial or ratepaying district.

We have, fortunately, a machinery by which we may hope to get a very large number of such petitions numerously signed; and it should be done simultaneously over England some very short time before the meeting of Parliament. Such petitions should, we also suggest, be intrusted for presentation, not to any Catholic member of Parliament, but to the member of the parliamentary borough in which the signatories reside.

Such of the laity as are on the parliamentary register of voters can also immensely benefit the movement by direct applications to the members for their counties and boroughs. In fact, a system of direct application to members, even by voters who have not supported them, will produce an immense effect, and, at the very least, modify their style of opposition and weaken its intensity. The relations between a member and his constituents, who appeal to him as his constituents, are such that he feels always bound to give their applications a courteous attention, and, at the very least, to acknowledge and give some weight to their expressed views, in speaking or voting on the question to which they relate.

Another, a most valuable, indeed a decisive, influence might be brought to bear on the direction and extent of legislation on this question,—the active interest of the Irish people and their representatives. This interest should by all possible means be excited and enlisted in the resistance to a systematic perversion by which a whole generation of Irishmen have been lost to the faith and Church of their country. And when we remember the generous devotion of the Irish, and how deeply they are interested in this battle, which is

eminently an Irish one, though it has to be fought on English soil, the only doubt we can entertain relates to the efficiency of the means which may be employed to acquaint them with the facts of the case.

Considering the acknowledgments which have been made by the leading political men of the day, and the means we have suggested, and which will no doubt be at least partially used, for influencing individual members, we have in fact a certain success before us, if we only move with united counsels, are true to ourselves and the cause of the poor, and *can enlist the active coöperation of Government.*

Our own belief is that this will not be wanting if our case is at all adequately made out before the committee, and if we manage to secure the assistance of the Irish members. The government and the Poor-Law Commissioners are, we believe, so favourably disposed towards a just settlement of our claims, that it will be our own fault or misfortune if we fail to exercise that pressure which is almost necessary to excite the decisive action of Government in a direction which will be unpopular with many of their supporters,—as, for instance, with their Scotch supporters,—and which is not specially called for by the middle classes in England.

Our case can hardly be so mismanaged before the committee, or in debate in the House, but that *something* will be done. The fear is, that any compromise will be only too eagerly and thankfully accepted, and that we may lose an opportunity of obtaining full justice, leaving for a future struggle those provisions in favour of our poor which we shall then have to seek with an inferior, or at least less palpable, case, and without so good an opportunity of pressing it.

If we may judge from such proceedings as have become public of some persons who have charitably interested themselves in the question, we should feel inclined most particularly to fear a disposition to surrender, or at least very greatly to undervalue the importance of, a provision for the appointment and payment of Catholic chaplains, who may enjoy and exercise the same rights with respect to the Catholic poor as those which the Protestant chaplain now exercises. All the consideration we have given to the subject leads us to conclude that this is so much the one essential point that all concessions short of it will be practically useless, and that, this one point secured, all others may be left with confidence to the administrative authorities.

We only put forward the suggestions in this fourth part of our article as one supposition amongst many. It is necessary to have some plans before we begin to act; but it is not

necessary that these plans should be followed in the course of action, since no one is prophet enough to know beforehand what events will turn up, and how far circumstances may suggest other and better methods of proceeding.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL-BOOKS.*

THE attention which the elementary education of the poor is at present receiving from many influential quarters is a very cheering and a very consoling sign of the times in which our lot is cast. The lower classes of society form, in a certain sense, its wealth and strength. They, or more properly, perhaps, their children, are to society what the raw material is to the manufacturer; although, of course, it mainly depends upon the moulding, the training, the education they receive, whether they eventually augment the power and resources of their country, or become a wound in its side, a prey upon its vitals, a perennial source of its weakness. No country can receive a greater temporal blessing than to be made the parent of an industrious, well-instructed, and religious middle and lower class; as there can be no greater misfortune than to be burdened with a population incapable of aiding themselves, through idleness, ignorance, and vice.

But while we desire to speak with unqualified praise of the interest now so generally taken in the education of the lower classes, we must modify this praise when we come to peruse the primary books most commonly placed in the hands of the children of the poor. It seems to us as if the compilers of these works set out with a resolution, not to consult the capacity or the circumstances of the children to be taught, but to prepare, *a priori*, such a system of instruction as may fall in with certain preconceived, and, in some instances at least, very crude and unreal, notions of elementary education. Take, for example, the reading-books commonly known as *Baker's Circle of Knowledge*, which have

• *On Elementary School-Books.* By James Tilleard, F.R.G.S. London: Longmans, 1860.

Graduated Reading, comprising a Circle of Knowledge, in 200 Lessons. By Charles Baker. London: Wertheim.

The Lesson-Books of the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland. Dublin.

Lesson-Books by the Christian Brothers. Dublin.

Elementary Books for Catholic Schools. Nos. 1, 2, 3. London: Burns and Lambert, 1860.

already reached the eighth edition, and which, we believe, enjoy in a remarkable degree the good opinion of many of her Majesty's inspectors of schools. In several of the convent schools these reading-books have been adopted, owing, if we are not misinformed, to the recommendation of the government inspectors. We have ourselves heard them spoken of as the very best books that could be placed in the hands of beginners; and fully accepting the verdict which had been given in their favour, we never doubted their peculiar fitness for primary education until we chanced actually to come across them. It is well known that "familiarity breeds contempt," and we shall leave it to the decision of our readers whether in this case contempt is not too justly merited. *The Circle of Knowledge*, Gradation I., is intended for children of five or six years old. It forms a neat volume, printed in a bold type, and contains 200 lessons, together with some poetry added as a kind of appendix. Even in the most advanced schools for the poor, boys and girls only five years old are not generally expert in the art of reading, nor are they able, as a rule, to fix their attention upon abstruse and difficult subjects. And therefore *The Circle of Knowledge* takes care to put before them only such subjects as it is well known that children of their age take an active and lively interest in. Now, one would suppose that little boys and girls only five or six years old, if they could read at all, would like to read very easy stories, clothed in the most simple words, and giving food to their piety and affections rather than to their tender and undeveloped intellects. At all events, ordinary persons would never dream of introducing them to the knowledge and practice of reading by means of 200 lessons on the driest matters of fact, put together in language not uniformly simple, and occasionally bordering upon subjects in their nature repulsive. The approbation, however, accorded to *Baker's Circle of Knowledge* by government inspectors, and the adoption of these class-books by some first-rate convent schools, seems to prove that ordinary persons would be wrong. Books of another kind may have suited the weak capacities of six-year-old children of the last century; but the world has made great advances since that remote period, and the corresponding class of the present day require and demand a very different kind of mental food. For instance, we are called upon to teach them such important, elevating, and improving truths as the following:

"Our faces are provided with eyes, eyebrows, cheeks, lips, a nose, and a chin. The eyes are to see with: they are provided

with eyelids. The nose is to smell with : it has openings on each side, called nostrils.

The upper limbs are the arms, the hands, and the fingers. . . . We have two arms, two hands, and ten fingers. The inner part of the hand is the palm : the closed hand is the fist.

The lower limbs are the thighs, the legs, the feet, and the toes. The thighs are joined to the trunk, the legs to the thighs, the feet to the legs, and the toes to the feet. We have two thighs, two legs, two feet, and ten toes.

The principal bones are the skull, the jaw-bone, the breast-bone, the shoulder-blade, the spine, the ribs, and the bones of the arms, hands, thighs, legs, and feet.

Our bodies are capable of various actions. We can touch, hold, strike, or pull. We can walk, run, jump, or dance. We can stand, sit, or lie down. We can perform many actions with our hands."

This is useful knowledge with a vengeance, and may well put to the blush the infant intelligence of thirty or forty years ago. What did the six-year-olders of those days know about the anatomy and the functions of the human body? Poor children! in those dark times they had no means of acquiring the knowledge that "we can perform many actions with our hands," and that "we have two thighs, two legs, two feet, and ten toes." Knowledge increases, and with each successive age of the world fresh light bursts upon the human mind. Nowadays a little boy of five years old is able to spend a cheerful hour in digesting the all-momentous truth of physical science, that the chief joints of the body are at the shoulders, the elbows, the wrists, the hips, the knees, and the ankle; and ere he has completed his seventh year he will have accurately and carefully numbered all his bones. What would our forefathers have given in their early childhood for a reading-lesson like the following :

"The bones in the human frame are very numerous. There are 8 bones in the skull, 14 in the face, 8 within the ears, 24 in the spine, 26 in the chest, 11 in the *pelvis*, 68 in the upper limbs and joints, and 64 in the lower limbs and joints; there are altogether 223 bones in the human body, besides the teeth."

Imagine a little boy or girl six years old conning for an hour lessons like these. What wholesome food for the understanding! What a solid foundation for moral training! Every one knows how inquisitive little children are. What numerous inquiries these anatomical lessons must give rise to; with what minute drawings of the human frame on the slate or on paper these wise little anatomists amuse themselves; and how carefully during the hour's lesson the conscientious teacher accustoms his intelligent pupils to distin-

guish, with the nicety of scientific accuracy, between the thighs and the hips, the spine, the chest, and the pelvis! If any one be inclined to ask—in pity rather than contempt—why in the last century there was no public museum of comparative anatomy in London, similar to Dr. Kahn's in Leicester Square, the obvious answer must be, because *Baker's Circle of Knowledge*, with Gradations I. II. and III., had not as yet been written to feed with its careful digest of facts the prurient intelligence of the infantile world. But we must not suppose that the inquiring intellect of our six-year-old poor is allowed to rest contented with such knowledge as this. No; it is urged to a higher flight. Although instructed to consider nothing human as being really foreign to its tastes, it nevertheless, under this judicious teaching, extends the range of its observation to all the works of nature. It dives into the physical mysteries; it classifies the various orders of birds, beasts, and fishes; it is conversant with political science; it investigates the nature of government; while “wiser than the aged,” it knows all about the divisibility of matter. Mechanics are its recreation; political economy its pastime; geographical knowledge the plaything of its activity; and, as it began with anatomy, it ends with physiology. All this, too, it must be remembered, within the space of one year, and while seven summers have not yet passed over its brief earthly existence.

Lest we should be supposed guilty of exaggeration, we must give a few more extracts in illustration.

“LESSON 46. *The Mammalia.* The animals that are nourished with milk are called *mammalia*—men, cattle, and some of the fishes, are mammalia. Some of the mammalia have hands and no feet, as the monkey; some have feet and no hands, as the horse; some have a proboscis, which serves for a hand, as the elephant.”

“LESSON 61. *Of Birds.* Animals produced from eggs are called *ovipara*. Birds, insects, and some other animals, are oviparous. Birds have bills, feathers, wings, tails, and legs; their legs have toes and claws. In their throat they have a crop. Some have a comb, and others a tuft of feathers, on their heads. Some birds walk, others climb, others perch, others swim.”

“Insects are divided into three parts: the head, the thorax, and the abdomen” (*Lesson 74*).

“There are several kinds of coal: as pit-coal, anthracite or stone-coal, cannel-coal, and jet. Bitumen is a kind of pitch. Naphtha and asphalt are bituminous minerals” (*Lesson 98*).

Rather hard words, considering the age of the pupil; but hard words are nothing to the children taught by the *Circle of Knowledge*.

"Ginger is used as a spice; ipecacuanha, gentian, and rhubarb as medicines; orris-root as a perfume" (*Lesson 104*).

"These times are the *equinoxes*. One day in summer is the longest day of the year, and one day in winter is the shortest. These days are in the middle of the summer and winter solstices" (*Lesson 113*).

"Things are drawn together by attraction. Atoms of matter, as coal, wood, and stone, are held together by cohesive attraction. Bodies are drawn to the earth by the attraction of gravitation; by the same kind of attraction the earth revolves round the sun. A sponge absorbs water through its pores by capillary attraction" (*Lesson 167*).

Of course this food is not at all too strong for a child of from five to six years. And what a refreshing thing it must be to meet with a little girl of that age, who, in place of foolishly nursing her doll, is able to sit quietly in a corner deeply occupied in the study of *capillary attraction, elastic substances, malleable and ductile metals, the inertia of matter; the distinction between the circle, the curve, and the sphere; the nature of the lever, the wedge, the capstan, and the inclined plane.*

It is only after the acquisition of all this valuable knowledge, that the child who has been drawn within the magic influence of *Baker's Circle of Knowledge* is fit to progress to the study of religion, and at length to ascend from nature up to nature's God. Mr. Baker's instructions on religion are solid: the religious element is undoubtedly not wanting in his system, nor can it be said that there is too much of it; in fact, the notion, now out of date, that Christianity is a definite system of belief, or that there exists any such religion as a distinctive Christianity, finds no place within the *Circle of Knowledge*. Instead of any teaching founded on this antiquated superstition, there are some vague chapters on the attributes of God, which are all summed up in the 201st lesson (the climax of the *Circle of Knowledge*, if a circle can properly be said to have a climax), by inculcating that we honour God when we *esteem* Him above every other object,—a mild form of devotion it must be acknowledged, not enthusiastic nor romantic, not likely to run into extremes, not exposed to the charge of fanaticism.

Such, then, is the kind of information provided by this system for a child who is not yet seven years old. How grave men who are still in possession of their faculties can believe it desirable for a boy or girl between five and six years of age to be obliged to acquire all this information, mistaking it for real training and instruction, is an enigma beyond our power to solve.

It is the fashion to find fault with the books published by the Commissioners of the National Board of Education in Ireland, and of course it would ill become us to be at variance with the fashion. Mr. Tilleard, in his useful pamphlet on elementary school-books, calls attention to the enormous preponderance which the sale of the books of the Irish Commissioners has over the sale of other books under the same head. According to this writer, of the 902,926 reading-lesson books ordered, 480,724, or more than one-half, were copies of the books of the Irish reading series. No other series reached 100,000 copies. Of the 16,299 copies of books of poetry ordered, 8546, or again more than one-half, were copies of the two volumes of selections published by the Commissioners. Of the 104,974 copies ordered of works on grammar and English language, 20,965 were copies of the grammar of the Irish board, which thus had about one-fifth of the total sale. Of the 135,323 copies of arithmetical works ordered, nearly 50,910, or 37 per cent, were copies of the Irish book. No other work on the subject reached 11,000 copies. Of the 6786 copies ordered of works on mensuration, the two books by the Irish Board had together 4950 copies, or 72 per cent. Among the 76,696 copies ordered under the head of political and historical geography, the Compendium by the Irish Board took the lead with 8682 copies, or about 10 per cent. The Irish Agricultural Class-Book had a sale of 1366 copies, or 70 per cent of the 1933 copies ordered under the head of gardening and agriculture. The only exceptions to the rule were the works on algebra, geometry, and natural philosophy.

It is somewhat remarkable to find Ireland the great instructress of the children of the English poor, not only in the true faith, but in the first principles of elementary education. It seems to be her vocation, and we trust that it will be discharged in an honourable and satisfactory manner. The fact that there are defects in the books published by the National Board diminishes, indeed, but does not destroy, their value and utility. We are disposed to take a middle place between the partisans of these books and their opposers. The First Book of Lessons is without exception the most nonsensical and irrational production of the kind that we have ever seen. There are scarcely two connected sentences throughout its pages. The usual kind of lesson is the following :

“ I met a man and a lad in a lane. Take a bit of tape to mete her box. Tell Tom or Ned to stir the fire. A tube lets pure wine from a tun. My cur bit Tom's nose. Can Bob cure it ?”

Why put such nonsense before little children ? Why

X

forget the reverence which is due to a child? The compiler must have been blest with a very small command over the English language, and with a still more limited imagination, who was unable to compose easy lessons in plain words, which might instruct and interest as well as occupy the time of the children. Yet, taken as a whole, the reading-books of the Irish Board are much more attractive and far less objectionable than *Baker's Circle of Knowledge*. The first and second sequels are good reading-books, although they fall into the absurd mistake of using hard scientific terms in addressing children of eight or ten years old. But the principal defects of the series, taken as a whole, are (1) that in their general information they are behind the times, and (2) that they are negatively anti-Catholic. The Scripture history is given in the language of the Protestant version. The "Bible" is referred to from time to time, as if it were the acknowledged duty of the boys and girls of the National schools to study it for themselves. No mention is made of the Immaculate Mother of God, even in a lesson where the fall of Eve and the promise of redemption is mentioned in phraseology eminently Protestant. The acts and lives of the Saints are ignored. The history of the Church is also ignored. Rome is mentioned as the capital of Italy, which it is not, strictly speaking; but not a word is said to remind Catholic children that it is the seat of the visible Head of their Church. To all this must be added, as pervading all the reading-books, a maudlin tone of sentimental piety, founded, not on the dogmas of the faith, but upon vague semi-Socinian notions of brotherhood and charity.

Mr. Tilleard candidly admits that the Irish reading-books were certainly a great advance at the time of their original publication, when the present educational movement was in its infancy; but as compared with other reading-books now in use, they cannot, in his judgment, be considered to possess more than average merit. He points out some of their defects, especially with reference to matters of geographical knowledge. The truth is, that the reading-books, having been stereotyped, cannot without great expense be corrected in order to suit the advanced knowledge of the present day on matters of science and of geography. It is certainly absurd to find reading-books designed for the instruction of the young in the year 1860 talking of the Thames Tunnel as still unfinished; and equally absurd is it to find them gravely acquainting their juvenile readers that "all the trade and manufactures of London are carried on in the city;" that the Sultan instantly orders his nobles or attendants to be put to

death without trial, whenever they displease him; that Van Diemen's Land is still a penal colony; and that the New Zealanders are fond of fighting, and in war very cruel, actually eating the flesh of the prisoners they take in battle. The worst of these deficiencies is, that they are almost without remedy; for the Irish books are now published at so cheap a rate that the booksellers cannot afford the expense necessary to render them, in an intellectual and scientific point of view, thoroughly serviceable and satisfactory. Mr. Tilleard remarks, that "had the Government sold the copyright to some one publishing firm, these books would then have been placed upon the same footing in the market as other books; but the throwing open of the right to print them, and of all the benefits of their previous advertisement, only increased the undue advantage which they already had in the competition, for this rivalry of different firms immediately had the effect of still further cheapening them. They are now being multiplied in all directions, and as special editions are issued for middle-class schools, we may judge that they are about to expel all other books from these schools, as well as from the schools for the poor. Another result of the same rivalry is, that the books are being multiplied with all their defects and errors in them; for to incur the expense of employing competent persons to revise them would necessitate the raising of the prices, and this would place a revised edition at a disadvantage in the market. Thus these defects and errors will be perpetuated for some time to come."

So much for the books of the Irish Board. In a Catholic point of view they are not suited to the real wants and requirements of the children of our poor; and we regret that they should have ever been in use in our National schools. Their tendency is to indoctrinate Catholic children with semi-Protestant or semi-Socinian notions; to keep them in the dark with respect to every thing connected with their faith, and to teach them a maudlin sentimentality instead of solid Christian charity. Still, judging of them in the abstract, and without reference to Catholic schools, they possess, as a whole, and in spite of their defects, an average degree of merit, and are sufficiently adapted to the purpose for which they were written, with the exception, as we have noticed, of the First Book, which is nonsensical, and of the reading-book for female schools, which is dry, difficult, heavy, and unattractive.

The Reading-Books of the Christian Brothers are seldom to be found in schools which are not under the management of those exemplary religious. This is in some measure due

to the high price charged for their books, but it is also, without doubt, owing to the character of the books themselves, which, although Catholic in their tone, are not sufficiently elementary for beginners, contain too many hard words, and are deficient in general interest. They are too grave and sombre to suit the tastes and to engage the attention of little children. Every Catholic must entertain the most sincere respect for the Christian Brothers who has ever seen them in the midst of their scholars, and who has noticed the wonderful power they possess of attracting the sympathy and love of their young pupils. Their zeal, their energy, and their self-devotion, have effected immense good among the young men and boys of France. We shall never forget the pleasure we experienced on our first visit to the night-schools of the Christian Brothers in Paris, where some 500 labourers and artisans were occupied, some in simple reading-lessons, some in working arithmetical problems, some in a school of design. We can hardly exaggerate the value and importance of a religious institute whose members, from the highest motives of piety, devote themselves exclusively and unreservedly to the elementary education of the poor. It seems to be the one thing wanted for the large towns and villages of England. But, then, a religious institution where the sole object is the education of the poor, and where the members have no other avocations to divide and distract their attention, is without excuse if it does not come up to the mark as an educational order, and if it does not take the lead, instead of lagging behind, in all that relates to educational science. Now we cannot honestly say that the Christian Brothers in England are a first-rate educational body. In this respect they contrast unfavourably with the religious sisterhoods throughout the land. The convent schools for the poor take rank with the very best schools in the country. They yield the palm to none. They possess all the advantages of the best methods of modern education, combined with careful religious training and instruction. Several of the Sisters are certificated teachers. They have with a most praiseworthy boldness submitted themselves to the government examination, and always with credit and success. Nor have they sacrificed any thing of the religious spirit by so doing. They have only qualified themselves to obtain the benefits offered by the Educational Grant, and they have placed themselves on a level with the best secular teachers of the country, that is, in all matters of secular learning. Such conduct is prudent, wise, far-seeing, large-minded. And, in consequence, the schools for the poor conducted by the nuns

are every where a benefit, a blessing, and a credit to the Church. We cannot say so much for the boys' schools under the care of the Christian Brothers in England. They do not bear the stamp of effective schools. As places of education they are surpassed, and easily surpassed, by schools taught by mere seculars. The Christian Brothers do not allow government inspection, nor do they enter the public examinations for certificated teachers. For this we should be the last to blame them. In our judgment, indeed, they would do well to imitate the conduct of the nuns in this particular; and, as a body, they would have more weight in the country, and occupy a higher position as an educational order, if their teachers had submitted to the examinations, and if all of them had obtained first-class certificates. But we do not blame them for not doing this. They may have wise and good reasons for declining to enter into any connection with the Government; they may have wise and good reasons for entertaining a dread of the whole system of government education; they may distrust and fear

“Danaos et dona ferentes.”

And to some extent we sympathise with this feeling. But if they reject the government examination through fear of being beguiled by government assistance, they ought, at all events, to show themselves to be in every way men who would fear no government examination. They ought to take the lead in all matters of education. Their whole system ought to be so practically superior to any thing as yet devised by the Council of Education that we should all be struck with the contrast. And yet this is so far from being the case, that, we regret to say, the contrast is in most instances adverse to the schools of the Brothers. This is not as it should be. When we ought to be the leaders and controllers of the educational movement, we should not be content to lag behind; and a religious order solely devoted to education has no excuse for lagging behind. Its religious spirit and character ought to hallow and purify the highest intellectual attainments; they form no excuse for slowness and mediocrity. When the Jesuits checked the progress of the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and reclaimed so many who had fallen from the Church, they owed the success which attended their labours, as Protestants themselves have admitted, not only to their zeal in preaching, but to the lead they took in secular education. They were superior to their opponents in the true Christian spirit and training; they were their equals, and often their superiors, in classical and scientific pursuits.

But we must not forget that our immediate business at present lies with the elementary books of education. We notice with great pleasure the publication of a new series of school-books for Catholic schools, which, so far as they have gone, in every respect merit very high praise. They avoid the absurdity of burdening little children with hard scientific names where simple words are much more serviceable. Unlike the first book of the National Board, the new "Primer" is very plain, simple, and easy to be understood; yet the author has contrived to write a little book full of pleasant stories and of sound information, such as a young beginner may fairly be expected to comprehend. The second and third books are just as good; and the lessons in geography especially are equal to the best we have seen in other series. They are not so dry and heavy as the few contained in *Baker's Circle of Knowledge*, and they promise to be free from the defects of the Irish Board. In the second and third books we have only the introductory lessons in geographical science. When the fourth book appears, we hope it will be found to carry on these lessons successfully, without running into fine language, or forgetting the class of children for whom the book is intended. There is, however, one objection that may be urged against this new series, and which is felt by many to be a grave defect in all works of the kind. We allude to mixing, without apparent order and apparent system, religious and secular lessons—on one page giving the history of a monkey, and on the next the life of a saint. This objection has weight; and we think it cannot be denied that lessons on faith and morals are occasionally placed in an inconvenient juxtaposition to matters of a purely secular character. There is much to be urged against this system, but there is also much to be urged in its favour. All systems of education which are professedly founded on religion adopt this practice in their reading-books, and this is so far an argument from experience in its favour. Then it must be remembered that the minds of little children are not so exact and critical as those of elderly people, and that they are not in the habit of distinguishing with logical accuracy between what is strictly matter of religion and what of secular knowledge. To a well-trained Christian child the transition from the one to the other is easy and natural, for, in point of fact, there is scarcely any transition at all. As to a Christian child all things are pure, so all things are of faith, and whatsoever is not of faith is sin. He sees God in all things. He lives in an atmosphere of faith; and therefore it is natural that almost in the same breath he should speak of what is divine and what is secular.

And, after all, is not this the right frame of mind for grown-up persons no less than little children? "Why should the works of God be separated from God Himself? Why not live and move and think in God? What else is meant by doing all things in the presence of God? If St. Luigi of Gonzaga could engage in a game of billiards in order by means of this recreation to please God, why should not a Christian child at one moment lisp the praises of Jesus and Mary, and in the next occupy himself with an easy lesson on natural history? In a word, where is the wisdom of separating what God has brought together, and of making a divorce between the natural and the supernatural, so graciously united in One in the mystery of the Incarnation?" However, the most imperative motive for joining together in the same reading-book the religious and the secular, arises from the necessity of making the best use of the few years of a child's school life, in order to give him that religious knowledge and training which is more valuable than any thing else. The children of the poor generally leave school before they are twelve years of age. Their attendance, while professedly under instruction, is too often irregular. The least apparent necessity at home is sufficient to interrupt for days or weeks their studies at school. Now they are wanted to wait upon the younger children; now to go on errands; now to earn a sixpence by an odd day's work. Moreover, making allowance for times of sickness, and for absence from school through the want of shoes and good clothes, it will be seen that the education of a poor man's child must be compressed within a very brief space of time. It is therefore our duty, and it is a necessity, to make the best use of this brief and fluctuating period. If it were spent solely in imparting instruction that is purely secular, and if the children were left for religious knowledge to a weekly catechising in the school-room or church, the end would be that the children would grow up without any adequate religious instruction. For it would often happen that the day fixed for religious instruction would be the day on which the children would most frequently be detained at home. Besides, since instruction is not education, a boy's school-days ought not to be regarded merely as the appointed time for cramming youth with secular knowledge; the school-time of life is in reality the period in which Providence designs that the young should receive moral and intellectual training. This training is something more than instruction. It is to put the whole moral and intellectual creature into order, to adjust knowledge to faith, to give habits of energy and dili-

gence, to teach self-respect and self-control, to form character, to inculcate principle, and to draw out into healthy working the pure affections of piety. Education is consequently, in its essence, a religious and sacred work; and therefore, while we desire to see the children of rich and poor equal in all matters of secular knowledge to the average of those with whom they are afterwards to come in contact, well informed, intelligent, and diligent, we trust that, crowning and consecrating every other gift, the Catholic faith in its dogma and in its practice may brighten their intelligence, pervade their being, control their actions, and extend its sanctifying influence over every step they may take through life. We wish for no forced distinctions between what is secular and what is not; but while deprecating in the strongest manner any attempt to bring up children in a sort of hot-house piety, we should wish to see them penetrated with the conviction that all things are for God; that learning and knowledge and study and recreation and labour are all to be devoted to His service, and are useless or hurtful unless they be hallowed by His benediction.

Communicated Articles.

MR. KINGSLEY.

“An honest man, doubtless, he is: but it does not follow, alas, in this piecemeal world, that he should write an honest book.”

Kingsley's *Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 257.

PERHAPS there is no other living author who has attained to so high a level of popularity as Mr. Kingsley in departments of literature so various as those with which his name is associated. Five novels, three series of sermons, one drama, one volume of poems, and two of essays, reviews, lectures, &c., a treatise on Greek philosophy, some lectures on the Alexandrian Schools, a volume of Greek fairy-tales, and another on marine natural history, attest the versatility of his genius, and furnish a catalogue of subjects which precludes in this place any thing like a detailed examination of his writings. It is not to be expected that the works of so multifarious an author should display throughout an absolute identity, or even in all cases a consistent development, of opinion; but however Mr. Kingsley may have changed his views in the fifteen years during which he has been before the public,

and however successful he may have been in stamping the impression of each phase of his mind on the forms of current opinion, still, taking his works as a whole, they exhibit sufficient unity of idea and resemblance of style to present a fairly definite image to the reader; and those who are well acquainted with them would probably have no difficulty in recognising their author if he were anonymously to enter on some hitherto untrodden ground.

One reason of this may be the striking mannerism of a style in which, to use a painter's metaphor, colour predominates over form, which is perhaps too equally vigorous and brilliant, and in which strength and earnestness of expression almost entirely exclude subtlety of analysis. But the main reason seems to lie in what is probably the cause of such a style—in the fact, that is, that although Mr. Kingsley's opinions may sometimes appear involved or self-contradictory, there never can be any doubt about his likes and dislikes. He seeks to influence the conduct rather than to convince the reason; and so far as he may be said to have founded a school, it is one of feeling rather than of thought. Balzac used to say that authors nowadays must write with all the strength of their nerves and muscles, and all the power of their wills; and Mr. Kingsley, though he nowhere seeks to paint himself, and indeed carefully avoids doing so, nevertheless puts us in mind of his personal feelings at every turn. This of course springs out of the modern preference of human interest to abstract thought, which has had such a dramatic and pictorial, but at the same time such an intensely personalising, effect on the majority of our popular writers. The social consequences of Christianity have replaced Christianity itself in the affections of many; and Mr. Kingsley's desire to give a religious colouring to the materialism of the age has made him appear like a defender of Christianity itself to unthinking and admiring numbers. He serves as a link to connect the practical with the speculative side of English Protestantism; and thus he succeeds in conciliating, though of course on totally different grounds, the good-will of two large sections of the community. The majority, ranged on the practical and traditional side, are carried away by his unsurpassed powers of vivid pictorial imagination, his strong conviction of the truth of his own views, his impassioned love of human nature, his enthusiastic patriotism, and his unconscious flattery of that majority of his countrymen whose prejudices he at the same time stimulates, shares, and idealises. The speculative rationalistic minority, on the other hand, regard him as the leader of a convenient and necessary movement

—a movement which shall put the ideas of the few into action, and connect them with the living energetic world of everyday life. The absence of theological and ecclesiastical tradition, which is a boasted characteristic of the Protestant system, has simply resulted in the substitution of a historical and legendary tradition antagonistic to Catholicism; and no one can be better fitted for working up this anti-Catholic material into popular books than a writer whose devotion to the Baconian system is only equalled by his recklessness in the use of it, and who combines a superstitious horror of asceticism and casuistry with the most triumphant tone of dogmatism and the most passionate vehemence of self-assertion.

His total absence of the critical faculty rather serves to enhance his special excellencies than otherwise; for it is a faculty which terribly interferes with picturesque effects and telling points. Mr. Kingsley, for example, knows exactly the course of God's dealings with Sir Walter Raleigh's soul, and can describe them in graphic language; whilst, in another part of the very volume in which he does so, he can speak indignantly of people who "pretend to be in the secrets of Omniscience;" and no one is struck by the inconsistency, simply because each one feels that Mr. Kingsley is so convinced of whatever carries him away at the moment that he uses insensibly quite different weights and measures for those who agree with and for those who differ from himself. He resembles a left-handed fighter, whose blows fall more or less unawares even when his left-handedness is allowed for. He claims boldly the advantages of opposite systems in his own case, and it seems to be his ambition, whilst writing and acting on the staff of the Establishment, to do so as if he were a Free Lance; in which, indeed, he is only a somewhat caricatured follower of Dean Trench and Archdeacon Hare. Like many other writers in our own day, he seems to claim a monopoly of the objections to his own theories, and to look upon general truths as private property, which nobody else has a right to make use of without being prepared to carry them to the same consequences with himself. And curiously enough, it never seems to strike him that by using this arm against others he is logically putting himself out of court, since, if the test be really true, it must apply equally to himself in reference to others.

To take an instance, Mr. Froude frankly says that his history is based on the theory, 1stly, that the Reformation was good; 2dly, that, on the principle that it is a good tree which produces good fruit, the founder of it must be good

too. On this basis he erects a structure for which he claims impartiality, and impartiality his critic is ready at once, and without hesitation, to concede to him. Now it is strange that neither should see that these are the very grounds reversed, or, as heralds would say, counterchanged, on which they would refuse credence to a Catholic historian. I am not referring to Mr. Kingsley's attack on the veracity of Lingard, because it is very evident, from his speaking of Lingard's history as if it came down to the present day, that he cannot himself have read the work he so vehemently denounces. But there is concerned here a defect so general and so widely diffused amongst all parties as to be worth considering for its own sake. Put into definite words, the question comes to this,—whether the less a man believes the more competent he is to judge? And yet surely experience proves, that that hatred of the belief of others which sceptics are apt to look on as the greatest enemy to truth is quite as strong a conviction in its own way as the faith of believers is itself. The test, if admitted, would prove too much; for not only faith, but hope and love, patriotism and power of sympathy, not to mention the opposite passions of hatred and envy, would equally disqualify men to judge impartially. The utter indifference of a beast would be the only refuge. Besides, the love of questioning established truths, or what are held to be such, is quite as strong a passion in the human mind as any love of authority, order, loyalty, or peace. Dr. Johnson said that when he was a boy he always chose the wrong side of a debate, because the most ingenious things, that is to say, the newest things, could be said upon it. So far, then, as considering settled convictions no hindrance to historical accuracy is concerned, I quite allow Mr. Kingsley's right to build up a structure which he believes to be in the main true, in pursuance of a foregone theory; but I deny his right to refuse to others the same measure of which he is so willing to avail himself, or to attempt to justify so manifest an unfairness in those who happen to agree with him. The same one-sided sophistry appears conspicuously in a passage in the first volume of *Two Years ago*, where Grace Harvey asks the question, "Is not the church made for man, and not man for the church?" This proposition is quite reasonable to those who do not believe in a Church at all, that is, who do not believe in her Divine mission. To those who do, it is simply another way of saying that truth is made for man, and not man for truth. But granting the proposition, for argument's sake, is the preacher of this doctrine prepared to admit the very obvious inferences to be de-

duced from his own theory? Is the *Irish Church* made for the *Irishman*? Mr. Kingsley would be puzzled to mention on what principle that did not contradict his own argument that unique institution could be defended; certainly not even on the assumption that the Church is made for the majority in that instance. However, putting the British "peculiar Institution" aside as something that precludes all discussion upon ordinary rules, and is no more to be taken as an example than the dodo would be allowed as a type of birds, it still remains to be shown who is the typical man for whom Mr. Kingsley's "Church" is made; and whether in this, as in other matters, numbers be the crucial test of the truth. If so, and it does not appear how else it could be arranged in conformity with the principle adopted, the aphorism seems only another way of affirming the advantages of a national Establishment over a universal Church, in accommodating itself to national tastes and peculiarities; in which case it would have been simpler to make the affirmation at once; but then the mystical haziness which lends so great a charm to many of Mr. Kingsley's sayings would have been lost.

Turning now from theological to moral questions, a somewhat similar defect in Mr. Kingsley's mode of treatment presents itself. He is no doubt more capable of sympathising with differences of conduct than of opinion, and is necessarily less unfair where he feels so much less bitterly; but he forgets that where sympathies are cultivated with the doers of wrong, fixed principles are absolutely necessary to prevent them from degenerating into sympathies with wrong itself. Take his treatment of the questions of slavery and duelling in *Two Years ago*, where he exemplifies what one may call the personal argument, in contradistinction from that of principle, just as in theological questions he appeals to traditional feeling and prejudice as opposed to dogma. Stangrave is converted to the anti-slave-trade party by falling in love with and marrying a white slave. Now, of course, it is very possible that reflection might come home to a man in this manner even on so great a subject; but surely, as far as other people were concerned, the fact of its doing so would be likely to have an unfavourable effect rather than a good one. In enlisting human sympathies on one side it is very easy to excite human antipathies on the other; and it is probable enough that a man who gave up the deepest inbred prejudices for the sake of a woman, even one so gifted as Marie, would be, by that very step, incapacitated from standing up as a champion against slavery. For would not those

whose prejudices and interests opposed his receive his efforts with sneering allusions to a fable as old as Æsop? Why should they change their opinions because he was married to and happy with a quadron? If such were the motives for his change of ideas, let him wait till the same thing happened to them before he expected them to change also. A man must have a very distorted view of human nature who does not see that this would be the probable reception of such a crusade against the popular current. And what could a man in the position of Stangrave answer? Would it not be *true* that what had changed his opinions and feelings could not be expected to convert others? Would not such a man probably fail, and become embittered by the wearing consequences and ineffectual struggles of a false position? Is it, in fact, seemly that a man should defend a great principle solely, or even principally, on the ground of a private and personal reason? And if this be so in merely political cases, what must it be in social ones? The truth is, that Mr. Kingsley, writing in his comfortable English study, with the full tide of popularity in his favour, is naturally unaware of the enormous power of public opinion. How should he be otherwise? He has never tried to sail against that current; with but slight tacking and steering, he has always managed to trim his boat so as to have some at least of the advantages of wind and tide. That he has in turn influenced his generation is indisputable; but his prejudices do happen to coincide with those of the majority of Englishmen, and his favourite virtues are in the main their favourite virtues too. A weary fight against a powerful interest, and a life-long struggle against social disabilities, require the aid of other weapons than those which, as a popular exponent of popular theories, he has ever wielded, or even dreamed of.

Again, let us observe Mr. Kingsley's treatment of the subject of duelling. I will extract from *Two Years ago* the different expressions used concerning it by the various characters. Thomas Thurnall: "A foolish vulgar superstition called honour. An ugly chance." Claude Mellot: "A farce. You won't fire at him, and he can't hit you. You must not fight that cur." Colin Campbell: "A soldier should never fight a duel; his life is his Queen's, not his own. If the honour of the family has been compromised, I must pay the penalty." The author himself: "A new fancy as a chivalrous act of utter self-abasement." And concerning the second meditated duel at Bertrick between Stangrave and Tom Thurnall: "The two fools turned on their heels and walked off."

Now this way of talking of such a matter may be the best for a novel, but it can do very little good, for the simple reason that it could not be used concerning a real living evil with which the sympathies of readers might be bound up. Can any one imagine that such language could have been used in the last century in the United Kingdom? Turn to Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and mark how *he* was influenced by the opinions of his age, so far as to view in duelling an act of self-defence. His justification of duelling (that is, of the duellist who accepts a challenge, and who is the provoked party) is the most specious that I know of, and has perhaps suggested a very thoughtful article on the disuse of the practice by the late Mr. De Quincey, which has been republished in his *Selections Grave and Gay*. The ground, at least, taken by both is the same, *i. e.* that a man's honour and reputation being as dear to him as life itself, an outrage directed against the one should confer the same right of self-defence as that which is universally allowed to exist in the case of the other. But the method pursued in *Two Years ago* could be put in operation only towards an evil that was already dying out.

The truth is, that in default of arguing an abstract question, dogma being put aside and authority despised, nothing remains but to fall back on personal influence, broad assertion, and popular prejudice. Principle is ever discreet, because it cannot afford to be any thing but absolutely right; it must not contradict itself; it must not burden another with one grain more of obligation than the case necessitates; it must therefore choose a position in which defence is more consulted than attack, and work out the problems of right and prudence with enemies on every hand. All this is the exact opposite of Mr. Kingsley's temper, which is that of constant assertion, of sympathies which allow, and of prejudices which deny, too much. If he does not convince any one, he at least carries most readers away with him; and it needs a violent effort sometimes to call oneself back to the real upshot of so many fine sentiments, glorious pictures, and vehement denunciations, and to see that the only principle inculcated in his glowing periods is the adoration of material success.

This is the more remarkable because our author, by his morbid love of activity, as opposed to thought, really cuts away the grounds of action itself from those who think at all. For is it not the one real question of life to know what to be active about? And would not action dissociated from thought be unworthy of a reasonable man? The monks of

old, indeed, acted on their motto, *laborare est orare*, but then they had faith in something beyond; whereas one may almost call hard work the final beatitude of Mr. Kingsley's believers. According to his theory it is a good in itself, conferring light instead of presupposing it; and life is to be carried on like a fox-hunt, all hard riding and no *craning* at rights or wrongs. To my view, I own, this creed of hard work and action seems to cut rather than untie the Gordian knot. It is a shirking rather than a solution of the true difficulty of life; and this appears to me an unmanly course, however muscular may be the sportsman who pursues it.

From Mr. Kingsley's pretensions to be the prophet and preacher of a new development of Christianity, it is a relief to turn to his literary merits, which must be allowed on all hands to be of the highest order, combining rare vigour and power with the keenest feeling for beauty, and the fullest capacity of expression. These merits, it is true, constitute the chief danger of works in which the most exquisite ornamentation is generally lavished on the weakest groundwork of reasoning, and the most mystical fretwork woven round the grossest materialism. Mr. Kingsley's recipe for reforming the world seems to be to travestie fun into earnestness, and earnestness into fun. If any thing heroic or perilous is to be done, his model characters set about it as a matter of "jolly fun," whether it be attending on cholera patients or "hunting a mad poet up Snowdon in a thunderstorm;" whilst dining, fishing, or making love, are treated as stern matters of earnest duty. This combines two great advantages: duty is made pleasant, and pleasure is made soothing to the conscience,—which is very satisfactory to the actor in each, but apt to become ridiculous to the bystander who happens to possess a sense of the humorous. Very young people, however, are not generally remarkable for this sense, and are therefore likely to be misled by sophistries so attractive, clothed as they are in language the more gorgeous for its very looseness and inexactness. Well do I remember, some dozen years ago, the day in early summer when I lighted on the first chapters of *Yeast* in *Fraser's Magazine*, and showed them to one long since dead, and revelled with him in the charms of the fresh strength of expression and glorious beauty of descriptive painting. Ruskin's first volume of *Modern Painters* had not long been out; and now that word-painting has become an institution, copied by so many, and such feeble, or worse still, redundantly bombastic, imitators,

it is sad and yet delightful to look back to the exquisite pleasure afforded by the first glimpses of that pictorial representation of nature by Tennyson, Ruskin, and Kingsley, which seemed to confer a fresh charm on every woodland stroll or seaside walk, and throw a new glamour over the sunset-heavens, all a-glow as these were then with the "purple light of youth." There is a passage in *Alton Locke* in which the "tailor" hero speaks of the greater impression made on his mind by Tennyson than by any other poet, and of the reasons why the latest great poems have an influence, a power, over the young such as no others ever can have. Every hope finds in them an echo, and the very vagueness of expectation charms more than the exactness of fruition. There is a magic link, such as can never exist again, between author and reader, finder and seeker; and if this be true of poetry, where excellence is of slower growth, as it admits of more exquisite art, it must be still more so in prose, like Mr. Kingsley's, with a dash of prophecy in it. For when was prophecy ever fulfilled to the expectation of believers? Is there not to most of us, as well as to great poets,

"The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the poet's dream"?

It is not to Mr. Kingsley's later works that these remarks apply. Those who wish to understand his early aspirations must turn to the pages of *Yeast* and *Phaethon*, from the former of which I will extract a few passages, premising that the speakers are the hero of the book, Lancelot by name, and a mysterious teacher, strong-bodied, hard-featured, and mystical in speech, who combines somewhat the attributes of Mr. Borrow's Lavengro and Mr. Disraeli's Sidonia:

"Lancelot looked at him with a puzzled face.

'You must not speak in such deep parables to so young a learner.'

'Is my parable so hard, then? Look around you and see what is the characteristic of your country and of your generation at this moment. What a yearning, what an expectation, amid infinite falsehoods and confusions, of some nobler, more chivalrous, more godlike state! Your very costermonger trolls out his belief that "there's a good time coming," and the hearts of *gamins* as well as millenarians answer, "True!" Is not that a clashing amongst the "dry bones"? And as for flesh, what new materials are springing up among you every month, spiritual and physical, for a state "such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard"! Railroads, electric telegraphs, associate lodging-houses, club-houses, sanitary reforms, experimental schools, chemical agriculture, a matchless school of inductive science,

an equally matchless school of naturalistic painters,—and all this in the very workshop of the world! Look, again, at the healthy craving after religious art and ceremonial, the strong desire to preserve that which has stood the test of time; and, on the other hand, at the manful resolution of your middle classes to stand or fall by the Bible alone, to admit no innovations of worship which are empty of instinctive meaning. Look at the enormous amount of practical benevolence which now struggles in vain against evil, only because it is as yet private, desultory, divided. How dare you, young man, despair of your own nation while its nobles can produce a Carlisle, an Ellesmere, an Ashley, a Robert Grosvenor, while its middle classes can beget a Faraday, a Stephenson, a Brooke, an Elizabeth Fry? See, I say, what a chaos of noble materials is here, all confused, it is true,—polarised, jarring, and chaotic, here bigotry, there self-will, superstition, sheer atheism often,—but only waiting for the one inspiring Spirit to organise, and unite, and consecrate this chaos into the noblest polity the world ever saw realised! What a destiny may be that of your land, if you have but the faith to see your own honour! Were I not of my own country, I would be an Englishman this day.'

'And what is your country?' asked Lancelot. 'It should be a noble one which breeds such men as you.'

The stranger smiled.

'Will you go thither with me?'

'Why not? I long for travel, and truly I am sick of my own country. When the Spirit of which you speak,' he went on bitterly, 'shall descend, I may return; till then England is no place for the penniless.'

'How know you that the Spirit is not even now poured out? Must your English Pharisees and Sadducees, too, have signs and wonders ere they believe? Will man never know that, "The kingdom of God cometh not by observation"? That now, as ever, His promise stands true, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world"? How many inspired hearts, even now, may be cherishing in secret the idea which shall reform the age, and fulfil at once the longings of every sect and rank?'

'Name it to me, then.'

'Who can name it? Who can even see it, but those who are like Him from whom it comes? Them a long and stern discipline awaits.'

'No, you shall rather come to Asia, the oldest and yet the youngest continent—to our volcanic mountain-ranges, where her bosom still heaves with the creative energy of youth, around the primeval cradle of the most ancient race of men. Then, when you have learned the wondrous harmony between man and his dwelling-place, I will lead you to a land where you shall see the highest spiritual cultivation in triumphant contact with the fiercest energies of matter; where men have learned to tame and use alike the volcano and the human heart, where the body and the spirit, the beautiful

and the useful, the human and the divine, are no longer separate, and men have embodied to themselves on earth an image of "the city not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

'Where is this land?' said Lancelot eagerly.

'Poor human nature must have its name for every thing. You have heard of the country of Prester John, that mysterious empire rarely visited by European eye.'

'You have mysterious dogmas of a Three in One. I know them. . . . I have admired them. In all their forms,—in the Vedas, in the Neo-Platonists, in Jacob Bœhmen, in your Catholic creeds, in Coleridge, and the Germans from whom he borrowed,—I have looked at them, and found in them beautiful phantasms of philosophy . . . all but scientific necessities. . . . But—

'But what?'

'I do not want cold abstract necessities of logic; I want living practical facts.'

'Don't believe Catholic dogma unless you like: faith is free. But see if you can reclaim either society or yourself without it; see if He will let you reclaim them. Take Catholic doctrine for granted; act on it; and see if you will not reclaim them.'

'Take for granted. Am I to come after all to implicit faith?'

'Implicit fiddlesticks! Did you ever read the *Novum Organum*? Mellot told me that you were a geologist.'

'Well?'

'You took for granted what you read in geological books, and went to the mine and the quarry afterwards to verify it in practice; and according as you found fact correspond with theory you retained or rejected. Was that implicit faith, or common sense, common humility, and sound induction?'

'Sound induction at least.'

'Then go now, and do likewise.'

For if the signs of the times mean any thing, they portend, I humbly submit, a somewhat mysterious and mythical *dénouement* to this very age, and to those struggles of it which I have attempted herein clumsily enough to sketch. We are entering fast, I both hope and fear, into the region of prodigy, true and false; and our great-grandchildren will look back on the latter half of this century, and ask if it were possible that such things could happen in an organised planet? The Benthamites will receive this announcement with shouts of laughter, if it ever meets their eyes. Be it so. . . . *Nous verrons*. . . . In the year 1847, if they will recollect, they were congratulating themselves on the nations' having grown too wise to go to war any more; . . . and in 1848? So it has been from the beginning. What did *philosophes* expect in 1792? What did they see in 1793? Popery was to be eternal: but the Reformation came nevertheless. Rome was to be eternal: but Alaric came. Jerusalem was to be eternal: but Titus came. Gomorrha was to be eternal, I doubt not: but the fire-floods came. . . . 'As it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be in the days of the Son of Man.

They were eating, drinking, marrying and giving in marriage; and the flood came and swept them all away.' Why should not this age, as all others like it have done, end in a cataclysm, a prodigy, a mystery? And why should not my little book do likewise?" (*Yeast*, pp. 344-365.)

On looking back from Mr. Kingsley's present works to prophecies and aspirations such as these, one is tempted to think of Wordsworth's lines:

"The youth, who daily further from the East
Must travel, still is Nature's priest;
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended.
At length the man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

But let us remember also that there is one degradation from which a consistent following out of materialistic principles has preserved Mr. Kingsley. He knows that the writer who embodies the sanguine hopes of youth and genius must later choose between diminished self-confidence, which includes diminished influence, and dreamy cant, adopted to hide lost illusions; and he has honestly chosen the former alternative, manfully casting away mystic utterances in which he no longer believes, and which, like every thing merely human, harden into forms of words in which those who use them have no more faith, though they cast still "the spell of the Unknown" over the young and the hopeful. Better "Queen Elizabeth," as a type of beauty; better the Tudors, as a type of power; better even the "cultus" of success and material prosperity,—than the meanness of mystical humbug, and formulas purposely incomprehensible! Better a thousand times! If a man's hopes and aims become less high, they may at least remain sincere; and even the prejudice of an honest antagonist is more respectable than a merely affected moderation. Mr. Kingsley doubtless thinks that English Protestantism, of his own school, will carry his aims through: we may not believe it can; but that is a question which will work itself out, and does not at present require discussion.

It remains for us to glance for a moment at the merits of the poet in contradistinction to those of the novelist, a work which is all the more necessary because the former have been somewhat unjustly, though perhaps unavoidably, obscured by the latter. The Greek fairy-tales may serve as a first illustration, for truly it would be hard to find prose poems to be compared to them for vivid imagination and simple grace. They form "one entire and perfect chrysolite;" and the same

may be said of the poem of "Andromeda." It seems strange, but Mr. Kingsley never appears so Christian in feeling as when treating pagan subjects. Is it because he can then abandon himself to his deep Christian sentiment without deeming himself called on to protest constantly against his *bête noire* of over-spirituality?

Some of his poems are rough and harsh, and grate a little on the ears accustomed to the exquisite harmony of the Laureate; but there are both deep feeling and eloquent expression in "The Night-Bird," "The Day of the Lord," some lines that begin, "The baby sings not on its mother's breast," "Dartside," "The Three Fishers and the Sands of Dee," as well as in many passages of the "Saint's Tragedy." The last mentioned is perhaps the *most* thoroughly original of all the works of its author. "St. Maura," in the latest volume of poems, resembles it somewhat in character, but bears traces of imitation of Mr. Tennyson (I would instance one passage from "Godiva," and another line from the "Princess"), whilst the drama is as original in manner as in matter. The few lines of St. Elizabeth's two songs—"Deep in the warm vale the village is sleeping," and "Oh, that we two were maying!"—haunt one with a deep melancholy charm, such as some of the heart-felt old ballads of Scotland possess, and which is more easily felt than described.

The introduction by Mr. Maurice, and the author's own preface to this work, contain the keys to the ideas on which the latter has proceeded in his literary career, and are eminently suggestive. What has since been named "Muscular Christianity" is here presented by its apostle under the almost identical expression of "the healthy animalism of the Teutonic mind;" and, indeed, its prototype, Walter de Varila, is very much a mediæval Tom Thurnall. The assumption of the identity of Protestantism with all practical holiness in the Catholic Church before the Reformation, and the claim set up for all that was noble in individual Catholics as constituting them "unconscious Protestants," are simply ridiculous, and may be traced, no doubt, partly to that false idea of the Catholic Church which seems to haunt all who are out of her pale, and which leads them to create a phantom "Popery," as Cervantes' Knight idealised the windmills to enhance the glories of an imaginary conquest; partly to that love of antiquity inherent in the human mind, which makes the Freemasons connect themselves with the builders of Solomon's temple, or the Rosicrucians trace up their origin to those sages of Egypt who are the earliest examples of systematic dealings in the occult sciences.

The practice of introducing Catholic personages, and even the legends of Catholic saints, into Protestant literature took its root in causes political as well as religious, *i. e.* in that great change of feeling towards the middle ages which set in in opposition to, and reaction from, the French Revolution. Germany and England being the foremost countries opposed to French propagandism, were the first also whose literature felt the influence of this reaction; and accordingly we see symptoms of it in almost all their great writers. Schiller's "Fridolin" is founded on a story told of St. Elizabeth of Portugal, great niece of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and Tieck's "Genoveva" on that of a princess of Brabant. Goethe, it is true, characteristically chose a Protestant hero for his poem, but Faust owes much to its introduction of Catholic hymns and allusions; and Herder, Jean Paul, Novalis, Uhland, and the Stolbergs and Schlegels in Germany, Sir Walter Scott in an eminent degree, Wordsworth even, Coleridge, Southey, and Milman in England,—bear witness to the double influence. Tennyson in his "St. Agnes and St. Simon Stylites;" Mrs. Jameson in her "Legends of the Madonna, Saints, and Angels;" Longfellow in the "Golden Legend," and numberless allusions in all his poems, and in "Hyperion;" Dean Trench in his translation of Calderon's "Magico Prodigioso;" Mr. Kingsley, in fine, in the drama of "The Saint's Tragedy," "St. Maura," "Hypatia," and passages too numerous to mention,—have familiarised the Protestant public with versions of Catholic hagiology, suited more or less to its taste, till such references, whether in praise or blame, ridicule or admiration, or all combined, have become quite a prevailing fashion. I do not say any thing of the Oxford series of *English Saints' Lives*, nor of Barham's *Ingoldsby Legends*; because the former, beautiful as they are, belong to a higher order of ideas than the merely artistic, and the latter only seek that combination of the solemn and laughable which public opinion in England would have revolted from, except in the article of an unpopular form of religion. In fact, whilst Tractarianism had this field in its occupation the taste for mediævalism was looked on with suspicion, but since it has been adapted to prevailing English views it has achieved a decided success. Mr. Carlyle's "Abbot Sampson" perhaps first convinced the English world that a new vein had been hit on, which might be worked in a Protestant spirit. The antidote, it appeared, could henceforth be administered with the poison, and so, with the double charm of novelty and security, the ground was taken possession of; and as the Americans tell us Englishmen that we do not

know our own language, so Mr. Kingsley informs us Catholics that we cannot appreciate our own saints. No doubt the believers in eclectic Christianity have a perfect right to appropriate all they can gather in alien gardens and make their own, whilst avoiding what they think the weeds; but, at all events, it may be suggested to Mr. Kingsley that this course imposes such an obligation to use courteous language as cannot be transgressed without legitimate blame.

Much more might be added both in disproof of many of his arguments, and in acknowledgment of his many and great excellencies, especially his vivid perception of beauty, wherever it may be found. The descriptions of Pelagia as Venus in "Hypatia," of the sea-cavern in *Two Years ago*, and of South-American vegetation in *Westward Ho*, are perhaps the most highly wrought of any of his exquisite pictures of life; but they are only the most finished examples in a gallery in which even the slightest sketch is masterly. The shipwreck of the Spanish galleon on Lundy Isle, which fitly terminates *Westward Ho*, rises into almost epic interest and beauty; and the picture of Amyas on the cliff, and the dead Spaniard down below the waves, is worthy of having been suggested (as one cannot help fancying it must have been) by the "grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens," sung of by Coleridge on the Quantock Hills over the Severn Sea. But my limits preclude any further enumeration; and I will only, in conclusion, allow myself the pleasure of quoting four lines from the poems which may justly claim the highest meed of praise:

"Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever,
Do noble deeds, not dream them, all day long;
And so make life, death, and that vast for ever,
One grand sweet song."

F.

GEORGE ELIOT'S NOVELS.

I AM not going to write a detailed review of George Eliot's novels. It is too late in the day for that; and the limited space I can ask for would prevent my doing justice to the subject. But it will not be out of place, nor, I hope, uninteresting to your readers, if I offer some remarks on an author who has risen to the foremost rank among contemporary writers of fiction, and with whose works I may assume them to be familiar. Into the question of sex it is needless to inquire, for no one has any doubt on that point now. For myself, indeed,

I never had any since the appearance of *Adam Bede*. None but a female pen could have traced that inimitable toilette-scene, where Hetty, in her solitary chamber, dresses herself up in tawdry finery to contemplate the beauty of her own fair face in the old mottled looking-glass, with flushing brow and an intensity of woman-like satisfaction which is only saved from being laughable because it is so true to life. But I shall of course continue to speak of George Eliot in accordance with that masculine sobriquet under which he is pleased to be recognised, well content to listen to such utterances under whatever name they may be addressed to us.

Novels may be broadly divided into two classes, though it is not always easy to discriminate between them, and may respectively be designated novels of character and novels of incident. Not of course that any novel can fail to contain both characters and events, but that while the one is specially concerned with the delineation of individual or social characteristics, the other relies for its main interest on the skilful elaboration of the plot. The one appeals to the curiosity, the other to the excitability, of its readers; the one attracts those who love to investigate the deeper phenomena of human nature, whether in themselves or in some accidental phase, local, religious, or political, of their aggregate development, the other is likely to "cheat the schoolboy of his hour of play;" the one may bear a second or even a third perusal, the interest of the other grows with rapid increase as the tale proceeds, and, having culminated in the concluding chapter of the magical third volume, expires with the last page as suddenly as it rose. Of the character novel Miss Austin is generally considered the originator; of the merely exciting romance the late Mr. James may be taken as the typical exponent; while Sir Walter Scott seems to hold a kind of middle place between them, most felicitous in his sketches both of particular persons and particular classes, but not on that account neglecting the more romantic elements of the tale. It is needless to inform my readers to which category George Eliot belongs. But it is worth observing, that among recent novelists there has been a growing tendency towards this process of spiritual photography (if I may be allowed the expression), a tendency exemplified even in such writers as Mr. Trollope, in whom we might scarcely have expected it; and also, that among those who have most successfully cultivated it, the fair sex may justly claim a preëminence. Miss Yonge, Currer Bell, and George Eliot differ widely from one another in style, in sentiment, and in aim; yet they have in common a graphic power of delineating fine shades of character, a

purposed adaptation of the narrative to its exhibition in detail, and a considerable though unequal mastery over their native tongue. Miss Yonge's special *forte*, like Mr. Trollope's, lies in her power of bringing out the characters of her *dramatis personæ* through the medium of their conversations, though, unlike him, she penetrates far below the surface into the depths of their varied individuality. This is perhaps most strikingly instanced in the *Daisy Chain*, from the slender thread of narrative on which the conversations are strung. Miss Brontë, while by no means ignoring this method of character-painting, nor unsuccessful in her use of it, is also very fond of expressing her own views of men and things in long soliloquies, put into the mouth of her heroine, in whose person she invariably writes. She contemplates them *ab extra*, as does also George Eliot, but in a different spirit. She does not gaze down, like the peri of Eastern fable, from a higher sphere, pouring tears of angelic anguish over the sorrows of a fallen race, but rather probes, with a pen dipped in vitriol, the festering sores of a corrupt humanity, triumphing almost, in proud but bitter superiority, over the foibles and hypocrisies of a world which she has tried and found wanting to her spirit's deepest needs. It is impossible to read her works without a feeling of painful compassion for the authoress, which Mrs. Gaskell's memoir of her does not tend to diminish; *ego te intus et in cute novi* is the text of every homily, and *vanitas vanitatum* is the reiterated moral of the tale. George Eliot has, indeed, been accused of a similar failing, but I think very unjustly. I am not now speaking of his artistic merits, which are unquestionably far beyond Currer Bell's, but of the moral attitude which he assumes. It is perfectly true that he also combines the satirist with the novelist; he, too, not unfrequently pauses in his tale, and devotes pages, or even whole chapters, to a kind of psychological analysis of the phenomena he has presented to our view. In doing so he is undoubtedly sarcastic, or rather, perhaps, he uses freely that delicate irony which was so marked a feature in the oral teachings of Socrates. But it is the sarcasm of genuine feeling, not the sneer of cynical contempt; it is that sarcasm which, I suppose, is inseparable, or nearly so, from deep earnestness, wherever there is even the most moderate capacity of expression, and which finds abundant sanction in the language of inspired writers under both Testaments.

As I have introduced this comparison between three of the most remarkable recent novelists, I may as well say a word on their respective relations to Catholicism. Miss

Yonge is notoriously of the High-Church school; but her covert insinuations against our faith are none the less telling to a casual reader from their apparently unstudied character, and the obvious affectation of candour, if not of sympathy. Thus in one story it is implied that systematic deception is the usual method of effecting conversions to the Church; while in another a young Spanish bride, who has run away from a convent, expresses her pity for the condition of a "heretic" English relative because the latter, having no opportunity of "doing penance," is debarred from the pleasant peccadilloes for which penance atones. It is of course implied that facility of absolution, and therefore facility of sin, is the special privilege of a Catholic. Currer Bell is more pronounced, both in her opinions and her method of expressing them. To her the crowning evidence of the universality of divine compassion is its willingness to "absolve priests"! George Eliot is too large-minded for the Anglican sectarianism of the one, and his keen appreciation of the weaknesses of Protestantism, both moral and intellectual, has at least preserved him from copying the littleness of the other, in affecting to despise what he has not taken the trouble to understand. Whether he does not, in fact, go further than this, I shall have occasion to inquire presently.

I have already disclaimed the intention of writing a regular review of any of George Eliot's novels; but it may be as well, before proceeding to some more general remarks, to say a few words on the leading characteristics of *Adam Bede* and the *Mill on the Floss*. It will be sufficient to observe of his earlier writings, that the promise given in *Scenes of Clerical Life*, especially in "Janet's Repentance," has been more than fulfilled in his later works. The scene of *Adam Bede* is laid, as my readers will remember, at the commencement of the present century, and in a northern village, which has just been disturbed by the incursion of Methodism into the dull routine of its religious, or irreligious, life. Round the struggle of this new phase of spiritual consciousness, personified in Dinah the Wesleyan "preacheress," with the stagnant orthodoxy of the bucolic mind, are grouped, more or less closely, the characters and incidents of the tale. Over it, however, is thrown the lengthening shadow of a great crime, lightly committed but bitterly repented, which involves in its consequences more than those who were partners in its guilt. And this leads me to notice in passing, though I notice only to reject it, a strange accusation which has been brought against *Adam Bede* as an immoral story. It is not immoral, unless every story is to be called so which repre-

sents any thing of the darker, as well as the brighter, side of human nature. Such a charge might even more plausibly be brought against many novels which have never been blown upon, such as *The Heart of Midlothian* or *The Scarlet Letter*, where the interest is far more exclusively concentrated on the unhappy victims of seduction. No one can accuse George Eliot of allowing pity for the sinner to merge into sympathy for sin, or of seeking either to palliate its guilt or to lighten the penalty it entails. But this by the way. To return to our tale. Adam Bede shall be the spokesman of the more sensible and moderate antagonism to Dinah's new evangel. His brother Seth, the disciple and unsuccessful suitor of the fair missionary, has been manfully standing out against the ridicule of his brother workmen, when Adam, the hero of the story, comes chivalrously to the rescue. He expresses to an iota the religious side of John Bull's view of things :

“Nay, Seth, lad ; I'm not for laughing at no man's religion. Let 'em follow their consciences, that's all. Only I think it 'ud be better if their consciences 'ud let 'em stay quiet i' the church—there's a deal to be learnt there. And there's such a thing as being over-speritlial ; we must have something beside Gospel i' this world. Look at the canals, an' th' aqueducts, an' th' coal-pit engines, and Arkwright's mills there at Cromford ; a man must learn summat beside Gospel to make them things, I reckon. But t' hear some o' them preachers, you'd think as a man must be doing nothing all 's life but shutting 's eyes and looking what's a going on inside him. I know a man must have the love o' God in his soul, and the Bible 's God's Word. But what does the Bible say ? Why, it says as God put His sperrit into the workman as built the tabernacle, to make him do all the carved work and things as wanted a nice hand. And this is my way o' looking at it ; there's the sperrit o' God in all things and all times,—weekday as well as Sunday,—and i' the great works and inventions, and i' the figuring and the mechanics. And God helps us with our head-pieces and our hands as well as with our souls ; and if a man does bits o' jobs out o' working hours,—builds a oven for 's wife to save her from going to the bakehouse, or scrats at his bit o' garden, and makes two potatoes grow instead o' one,—he's doing more good, and he's just as near to God, as if he was running after some preacher and a-praying and a-groaning.”

Our readers will recollect that Adam is a carpenter. We make no apology for letting him spin his yarn for himself after this characteristic fashion. He utters a truth, though not the whole truth, and a truth which has a wider application than to the sectaries of whom he speaks. For undoubtedly it is possible to be so absorbed in the pursuit of spiritual virtues as to forget to practise the natural ones. And unfortunately it sometimes happens that the children of this world

are not only wiser, but also more upright and more considerate in their generation than the children of light. The old story of the pious 'prentice, who was told "to water the milk-cans and then come down to prayers," hits a blot, not in religion, but in its professors, which the world has ever been particularly keen to appreciate, and which the unworldly should be particularly careful to eschew. We cannot, indeed, go the length of a modern writer, who opines that if Christians would behave as they ought for a single day, the world would be converted to the Catholic Church before nightfall; but nobody will question that their manifold inconsistencies are a principal hindrance of its conversion.

Adam is neither the only nor the most uncompromising champion of established orthodoxy against Wesleyanism. Mr. Joshua Rann, alias "Old Joshway," the parish-clerk, is roused to a state of "simmering indignation" by Dinah's unauthorised preachments on the village green, though he can find no better way of relieving his outraged dignity than by a sonorous repetition of a somewhat irrelevant verse from last Sunday's psalms, "Sihon, king of the Amorites, for His mercy endureth for ever; and Og, the king of Basan, for His mercy endureth for ever." The afore-said Joshway, who is by no means an ill-natured controversialist, fulfils for Mr. Irwine, the model rector, something the same office of "foolometer" which Lord Somebody (whose name I have forgotten) is said to have discharged in Walpole's ministry.

Mr. Irwine himself, rector of Broxton, vicar of Hayslope, and vicar of Blythe, though branded by the more thorough-paced Wesleyans as a "dumb dog" and "idle shepherd," is an admirable specimen of the better type of old-fashioned parson. He is more at home in Sophocles than in Isaiah, and if awakening sermons are to be preached at all, had rather leave the work to the Dissenters than undertake it himself. He is lax in his theology, deficient in enthusiasm, and gravitates rather to the comfortable than the ascetic line of life. But withal he is kindly, courteous, benevolent, unselfish, and affectionate. He remains an old bachelor that he may be able to give a home to his mother, a magnificent but most unattractive old lady, and two sisters, who are neither clever nor handsome, but whose unostentatious charity has endeared them to all the neighbouring poor. His character is perhaps one of the best drawn in the book. Mrs. Poyser, of whom more anon, describes his appearance in the desk on Sunday as "like looking at a full crop o' wheat, or a pasture with a fine dairy o' cows in it; it makes

you think the world's comfortable like." Nor are we anxious to quarrel with her pointed comparison between his sermons and those of his evangelical successor: "Mr. Irwine was like a good meal o' victual, you were the better for him without thinking on it; and Mr. Ryde was like a dose o' physic, he griped you, and worreted you, and after all he left you much the same."

This Mrs. Poyser, a farmer's wife and aunt of Dinah the Methodist, is a host in herself. She is a creation of genius, for which, if it stood alone, George Eliot's readers would owe him much. Her genuine kindness of disposition is only the more conspicuous for the rough but never ill-natured sarcasm which her ready mother-wit supplies her with. And her sharp telling comments on men and things, which, with the happy infallibility of schoolboy nicknames, always hit the right nail on the head, are quite a study by themselves. If she is sarcastic, it is because she is a keen observer of facts. The sense of the ridiculous is based on a perception of incongruities, and human nature is the strangest medley of contradictions. As Mr. Tulliver expresses it, "It's a puzzling world." It is not therefore any matter of surprise if we are sometimes forcibly reminded by her terse vigorous sayings of a rather disagreeable proverb, *quantula sapientia regitur mundus*, which is certainly verified by the experience of life. No mere extracts could give any adequate idea of the wonderful fecundity and nice discrimination of her wit, which would alone make *Adam Bede* well worth a perusal. It needs to have become acquainted with Squire Donithorne's despicable meanness to appreciate the full force of her parting valediction: "An' you may be right i' thinking it 'll take but little to save your soul, for it 'll be the smallest savin' y' iver made, wi' all your scrapin'." One should know something of his gardener, Mr. Craig, to understand her description of him as "a cock who thought the sun had risen to hear him crow." Scarcely less felicitous is her only observation, so far as we remember, on political subjects: "It's hard work to tell which is Old Harry, when every body's got boots on." Next to Mrs. Poyser in this particular line, though next at a long interval, comes old Lisbeth, Adam's mother, whose inventiveness of discontent not unfrequently rises into a kind of unintentional wit. Take, for instance, her injunctions to Adam about his father's coffin: "An' what's likin' got to do wi't? It's choice o' mislikins is all I'n got i' this world. One mossel's as good as another when your mouth's out o' taste." Or her not very pious or Scriptural rejoinder to Seth's simple interpretation of a simple text:

“ Ay, ay, that's the way with thee : thee allays makes a peck o' thy own words out o' a pint o' the Bible's. I donna see how thee't to know as ' take no thought for the morrow ' means all that. An' when the Bible's such a big book, an' thee canst read all through 't, an' ha' the pick o' the texes, I canna think why thee dostna pick better words as donna mean so much more nor they say. Adam doesna pick a that'n ; I can understan' the tex as he's allays a sayin', ' God helps them as helps theirsels. ' ”

Lisbeth represents the querulous, as Mrs. Poyser the healthy phase of the female rustic mind. We cannot stay to discuss at length all the minor characters of the tale, though all are admirably conceived, down to old Kester, the superannuated singer, who breaks out into a quavering treble at the harvest-home supper, “ as if he had been an alarum, and the time was come for him to go off ; ” and Berth Massey, the warm-hearted misogynist schoolmaster, who thinks women would not have been “ a bad invention ” if they had all been like Dinah. But what are we to say of Dinah herself ? of her preachings, her character, and her life ? That our author has painted a beautiful picture few will care to dispute. But is it a true one ? I am aware that many have sneeringly compared Dinah's single-minded and unselfish devotion with the unctuous priggishness of the modern prophets of her creed, and the simple earnestness of her preaching with the Boanerges fulminations or pianissimo drawl of the countless “ Zions ” and “ Ebenezers ” that obtrude themselves in graceless profusion at the corner of every street. I consider the comparison irrelevant and the criticism unjust. Dinah represents a reality, and not a fiction. But it is a reality of the past. She represents Wesleyanism in the first fervour of its youthful enthusiasm, not, as we see it now, in the petulant dotage of its premature decay. It was then a protest, and a healthy and honest protest, against the dreary stagnation of eighteenth-century Anglicanism, the age of “ evidences ” and unbelief. It was the passionate recoil of the tortured conscience from a church which had gone far to identify sanctity with sinecures, and whose highest conception of theology lay, not in the contemplation of the Infinite God, but in the wearisome cuckoo-cry of that “ argument from final causes ” which was supposed to demonstrate His existence. When the nickname of Methodists was first invented at Oxford for men who persevered in their attendance at weekly communion, and in their Wednesday and Friday meditations on the Passion, in spite of the jeers of a whole university ; or when Whitfield was preaching on the Cornish downs to forty thousand miners, whose rough grimed cheeks were furrowed with their

tears,—then Wesleyanism had a work, a spirit, and in some sense a mission to accomplish. And that spirit is not unaptly personified in Dinah. It must not, however, be supposed that Mr. Irwine's good-natured indifference was by any means the universal attitude of the Anglican clergy towards so unwelcome a monitor. I have seen a strange *brochure* of that date, by one Bishop Levington of Exeter, entitled *The Zeal of Methodists and Papists compared*, which betrays a bitter appreciation of the interests attacked, and of the unconscious leanings of a movement that seemed inspired for the time with a power and energy not its own. There is abundant matter in that book, and in Wesley's Journal, from which it quotes, to bear out all George Eliot's representations. Nor need the Catholic scruple to pay a just tribute to the pious intentions and earnest zeal of a body of men whose temporary success was due to a feeble and fitful imitation, however undesigned, of those religious orders, missions, and retreats of which England then knew nothing, but which are part of the Church's normal life. I believe, then, that there is no less truth than beauty in the picture of Dinah's life of simple but heroic piety, before which the strong man becomes as a little child, and even Mrs. Poyser's sturdy common sense is subdued into affectionate reverence, though in an occasional fit of irritation she may call her niece's idea of "direction" from above "having a bigger maggot than usual in her head." And I sincerely thank the author for the light he has thrown upon a phase in the religious history of our country which writers of fiction have not often been willing to recall.

I cannot linger now over the touching episode of poor Hetty's seduction and flight. No character could be more naturally drawn; and the agony of wavering thought, while she is wandering through the solitary fields, longing yet fearing to find some dark pond in a hollow, where she may end her sorrows and her life, and still more when she has found it, and sits crouching on the bank, not daring to do what yet she would fain have done,—all this is told with a quiet pathos which brings its own evidence of reality. Yet our compassion for Hetty is never for a moment suffered to blind us to the levity of her character, or the grievousness of her fall. The childish vanity and utter worldliness of her little fluttering heart, which has "never appropriated a single Christian idea or Christian feeling," and which even in death dreads not judgment but extinction, does but throw out into bolder relief the unearthly purity of her cousin, as she watches with the patient gentleness of a guardian-angel over the erring

sister, in whom she recognises a child of God, and to whom, in the imminent expectation of a terrible death, she is the messenger of repentance and peace.

Perhaps one of the first contrasts that strikes us on turning from *Adam Bede* to the *Mill on the Floss* is the disappearance of Mrs. Poyser from the scene. It is impossible not to feel a little disappointment at parting company with our old friend. Still I think the author is right in not attempting to reproduce what has once been done so well. Mrs. Poyser is a masterpiece which could scarcely be improved upon, and which is far too good to run any risk of being spoilt. Moreover, there are few people of whom it is not possible to get tired, if we have too much of them. Scott's female characters are admirable; but when the same inevitable old crone reappears under various aliases, Mause, Meg Merriels, Norna, *πολλῶν ὀνομάγων μορφή μία*, in every successive novel, she is apt to become a little wearisome from the mere fact of repetition. After all, if we miss Mrs. Poyser in her own person, we have not altogether lost her. She is only put into commission, so to say. The three sisters, whose code of faith and morals figures so prominently in George Eliot's latest tale, recall, after their own peculiar fashion, much of the pungency, though little of the geniality, of the mistress of the Hall Farm. The Bible Christianity which is dependent for its selections of spiritual reading on the accidental position of "dried tulip-petals" in the sacred volume; the religion which finds sacraments and pall-bearers equally essential items in its consistent worship of respectability; and the conception of the religion which in its dread of posthumous perils looks chiefly to the evil reputation of an unsatisfactory will,—these certainly make up a sum total of spirituality a shade lower than what flourished under the benevolent auspices of Mr. Irwine and the illustrious Joshua Rann, where at least those who were unwilling to take the "trouble of any spiritual transactions" on themselves, had a vague sense of comfort and safety in the piety of their neighbours. But the world had advanced a generation between the Poyser and the Dodson; if it had not become more religious, it had certainly grown more respectable. And, next to having a virtue, what can be so desirable as to be able to conceal your want of it?

I believe it is the fashion to speak of the *Mill on the Floss* as inferior to *Adam Bede*. I cannot endorse that verdict. Great as are the merits of the earlier tale, in all points but one it is more than equalled by the second. That single point of inferiority marks a fault which is worth pointing out, because it seems with George Eliot to be a growing one, and

is certainly not unnatural in a writer of his peculiar powers ; but none the less, or rather all the more, on account of his high excellencies, ought to be corrected. I mean, that he is apt in his skilful elaboration of character to be a little careless about the elaboration of his plot. There are signs of this tendency even in *Adam Bede*, and it becomes obtrusively evident in the *Mill on the Floss*. Each volume contains a separate tale, and the break between the second and third is too violent for a due preservation of continuity. I quite recognise the working out of character as the highest interest of a novel, but its subordinate features cannot be disregarded with impunity. Perhaps it was an uneasy consciousness that the canons of novelistic orthodoxy had not been very strictly adhered to that suggested the somewhat melodramatic *dénouement*, which explains the scriptural motto of the title-page and reunites the parted ones in a last embrace. Most touchingly and simply it is told, and it cuts the Gordian knot of more than one moral problem which it might not have been so easy to untie. Still I could willingly have dispensed with this *deus ex machinā*, in the shape of a flooded mill-stream, which comes in, like a kind of clinical baptism, to absolve the memories of a very questionable past.

I have said that each volume has a distinct interest of its own, though there is of course a thread of continuity running through all three. The special merit of the first, over and above the characters of the aunts, to whom I shall have to refer again presently, lies in the perfect naturalness of its picture of childhood. Little Totty, looking like the metamorphosis of a white sucking-pig, must be a great favourite with all readers of *Adam Bede*. But we turn to Tom and Maggie for a full delineation of that faëry dreamland which all have passed through, but which few seem able to remember, or at least to describe. The simple joys and sorrows of a simple age, the *amantium ira*, which do but give the more piquancy to the *amoris integratio* that is sure speedily to follow, the happy unconsciousness of the present, and the dim anticipation of a future where all is sunshine,—all this has seldom been sketched with such truthfulness and quiet pathos. Take Maggie's cross-questioning of her brother as to his reasons for not running away from the dreaded incursion of uncles and aunts to dinner. It was not for his cousin Lucy, she is but a girl and can't play at bandy ; nor for the tinsycake, that would be good next day. "It's the pudden. I know what the pudden's to be—apricot roll-up—O my buttons!" Or, again, that admirable reconciliation scene, after Tom had punished his sister's carelessness in starving his rabbits to

death by several hours' alienation on the very day of his return from school. The conclusion is worth quoting.

"Don't cry, then, Maggie,—here, eat a bit o' cake." Maggie's sobs began to subside, and she put out her mouth for the cake and bit a piece; and then Tom bit a piece just for company, and they ate together, and rubbed each other's cheeks and brows and noses together while they ate, with a humiliating resemblance to two friendly ponies."

Nor are the distinctive peculiarities of boy and girl lost sight of in the common characteristics of childhood. Tom's proud sense of superiority to Maggie when he comes home from school, having fought Sponnaer and bought two fishing-nets with his own money,—money which is to hers in the ratio of sovereigns to crown-pieces, because he is a boy,—and his contempt for poor Lucy "who can't play at bandy," are amusing traits of boyish independence. Not less faithful is the portrait of the shyness of boy-nature in company; "very much as if they had come into the world by mistake, and found it in a degree of undress that was quite embarrassing."

But we must not linger over generalities, however felicitous. The aunts and uncles, especially the former, are a study by themselves. Many features the Dodson sisters have in common; such as a tender regard for old furniture and family linen, and a mindful reverence for family traditions, down to the liking for a deal of salt in one's broth, which constitutes in Mrs. Tulliver's mind so touching a proof of her boy's being a genuine Dodson. But this agreement in essentials is consistent with considerable variety of taste in subordinate matters. "Jane *would* have striped things, and I like spots," as Mrs. Pullet pathetically observes of Mrs. Glegg. Their differences, however, hardly end there. Mrs. Glegg, a loud-tongued, quarrelsome, and exceedingly strong-minded woman, alternately the terror and the laughing-stock of her husband (a quiet kind-hearted old gentleman who has retired from business), is perhaps as pretty a specimen of a female Pharisee as one could desire to meet with. Still there is a fund of sterling good sense and real principle concealed under her harsh and ungainly exterior, which comes out in the day of trial in marked contradistinction to Tom's narrow and merciless code of abstract justice. Mrs. Pullet abundantly makes up in weakness for her sister's superfluity of strength. She is a selfish lachrymose hypochondriac, with a childish fondness for a useless variety of fine clothes, and a gift of unintermittent weeping over hypothetical sorrows. Indeed, she has a habit of bearing the burdens of others, in a sense very

different from that intended by the Apostle, which is not a little embarrassing to her friends; and is, moreover, haunted by a constant dread of "going off sudden," which makes inconveniently persistent demands on their sympathy. Mr. Pullet, too, is a character in his way. He is one of those people (who has not met them?) who, to considerable natural powers of stupidity, have superadded a large amount of acquired ignorance. He has that preternatural memory for insignificant trifles which is the characteristic short-sightedness of little minds; nay, each niche of his memory is stored with its particular triviality, as each pocket of his waistcoat is stored with its particular packet of lozenges or sugar-plums. When I add that he is the obedient slave of his wife, I have put the finishing stroke to his querulous imbecility. Of Mrs. Dean there is little to say, except that she is the impersonation of faultless propriety; and her husband is sufficiently described as an active merchant and banker, sensible and good-natured, but with a sharp eye for the main chance.

Very different from any of these is Mr. Tulliver, the sturdy owner of Dorlcote mill, and father of the hero and heroine of the tale. He is a good hearty Briton, with warm affections, a strong sense of right and wrong, and a fair allowance of wits, enough to give him rather an unreasonable contempt for inferior intellects, such as his wife's, but by no means enough to unravel the complicated riddle of life. He has, indeed, an uncomfortable conviction throughout, which remains "strong in death," that the world and all its concerns, talking especially, are puzzling things. Unfortunately he puzzles himself into a lawsuit with a cleverer man than himself, which leads to the ruin of his family and, indirectly, to his own death; but then he has the consolation of remembering to the last that the law was made to take care of "raskills." Poor Mr. Tulliver! We confess to a sneaking affection for him, notwithstanding his culpable imprudence and his unchristian perseverance in bearing malice. There is something very genial and real about him; and his fondness for his "little wench," though he fears she is too 'cute for a woman, contrasts very touchingly with her mother's half-frightened, half-careless treatment of the child she thinks half an idiot, from her early habit of soliloquising and her fondness for a dangerous proximity to the water.

In the childhood of Tom and Maggie we do but read a parable of what is continually happening, and in every rank of life. Over and over again parents are losing all hold over the hearts and intellects of their children, because they cannot, or will not, take any pains to understand them. What

they do not comprehend they cannot expect to guide. Any mere system of training by rote, however harmless or even profitable it may be in itself, is a broken reed to lean upon, if it stands alone. The yearning passions and impulses of those childish natures, wherein lies the germ of future weal or woe, are not to be reduced to a rule-of-three sum. Poor Maggie, wandering about, seeking rest and finding none in her lonely dreamings; and Tom, praying that he may always remember his Latin (which he can never learn), with a dim notion of its being somehow dangerous to forget it, but that God would make Mr. Stetling say he should do no more Euclid,—are, each in its own way, illustrations of the mistake we are referring to. Mr. Tulliver has a vague idea that “an education” is a good thing for a boy; and Mrs. Tulliver has a general notion that any other learning than of patchwork and curl-papers is a bad thing for a girl. So the ready, rough-handed, unintellectual brother is sent to waste three years in learning nothing at an expensive school; while the clever, imaginative, restless sister is left to pick up, hap-hazard, such mental nourishment as she can from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Æsop's Fables*, and *Defoe's History of the Devil*, with Byron and the *Waverley Novels* for a later addition to her library.

It is in the character and gradual training of their two children, and their influence on each other, that the main and absorbing interest of the story consists. They are very different; and are drawn with admirable, though slightly exaggerated, distinctness. Maggie is such as I have already hinted, a wild, impulsive, affectionate, romantic girl, constantly doing what is wrong or foolish, and as constantly and heartily repenting when it is done. Tom is precisely the reverse. He never repents of any thing; but then, in his own estimation, he never does any thing that needs repentance. He carries out to the uttermost the Levitical idea of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, with a full conviction that he would readily be dealt by as he deals with others, did he deserve it; only he never does. His sense of justice is untempered by any allowance for varieties of character and circumstance, or any mercy for infirmities of the will. From a boy he is essentially unimaginative; and it is almost impossible for unimaginative persons, especially if they are otherwise deficient in intellect, to sympathise with those differently constituted from themselves. Nothing but a strong conviction of the *duty* of doing so can induce them to make the attempt or enable them even partially to succeed. And sympathy for others formed no part of Tom's conception of duty. An unimaginative person is always narrow-minded,

and, unless he is very watchful over himself, sure to be unjust. I see early symptoms of this temper in Tom's harsh unforgivingness to his sister when she has forgotten to feed his pet rabbits, and his steady refusal to be reconciled with Bob Jakin the rat-catcher, of whom he was really fond, and not without good reason, because he had tried to cheat him of a halfpenny. It grows with his growth, and finds its later and more odious expression in his cruel treatment of his sister where there was no call for severity, and where, as the event proved, a little kindness would have saved incalculable suffering.

I shall perhaps best exhibit his special character by contrasting him with the ideals of a writer to whom I have already referred. Miss Yonge's model heroes are creatures of sentiment and impulse, amenable to most vivid religious impressions, but of little moral strength. Such are Guy in the *Heir of Redclyffe*, Arthur in *Heartsease*, and Lord Fitzjocelyn in *Dynevor Terrace*. They are exceedingly loveable, and even noble characters, but deficient in masculine vigour. George Eliot rushes into an opposite extreme: that unnatural and repulsive severity, which, in Adam Bede, is tempered by the romance of a vehement passion and gradually refined by sorrow, is unredeemed in Tom Tulliver by any such amiable weakness, and only hardened by the pressure of a great affliction. No religious impression is shocked by his father's angry command to inscribe a resolution of lifelong vindictiveness in the fly-leaf of the family Bible; no moral sentiment rebels against the cruel iniquity of driving his innocent sister an outcast from his doors. Dispositions of this kind are the raw material which *may*, indeed, be moulded into the heroism of a Regulus, but which far more often stiffens into the sour and ungainly self-righteousness of the Pharisee, the Puritan, or the Jansenist.

I do not know if any analogy is intended to be traced between the characters of Saul and Jonathan and those of our hero and heroine. But it would be difficult to find any one to whom the first half of the verse from which the motto in the title-page is taken is less applicable than to Tom Tulliver. He at least is not "lovely in his life." In fact, we have seldom met with so eminently *unlovely* a character within the range of unimpeachable respectabilities. Still there is much to be learned from him. He teaches us how easily what looked like high principle may degenerate into obstinate ill-nature, and how the perverse cruelty, sheltering itself under the misnomer of duty, which has forgotten to be generous will not long remember to be just. I can fancy poor

Maggie, had she ever fallen into the Magdalen's sin, occupying the Magdalen's place at her Saviour's feet. And I am quite sure, if she had, her brother would have made precisely the comment which Simon did make. Heart and soul, I prefer the penitent sinner to the faultless Pharisee who thinks he needs no repentance.

It may readily be conceived what training Maggie would get from the daily conflict with such a temper as this. Thrown entirely on herself in childhood, from the unsympathetic neglect of a mother with whom she has not two ideas in common, and early deprived of the kind indulgence of a father who loves without understanding her, and of whom she is passionately fond, the black-haired, brown-skinned, bright-eyed little gipsy, "like a Shetland pony," grows up into a beautiful romantic woman, with a deep reverence for unseen realities, and a passionate yearning for affection, which her brother coldly repulses, while her attachment to his old schoolfellow Philip Wakem draws down on both his bitterest maledictions. Hers is just the character most likely to meet with harshness, misconstruction, and distrust, and for which such a discipline is precisely the very worst. Her lonely musings and wrestlings of spiritual agony in that gloomy period which follows her father's illness and misfortunes, are described with a masterly hand. Most natural too is the strange and indelible impression made upon her mind by two books which are accidentally thrown in her way. No one will wonder at her being impressed by the *Christian Year*. "If poems are to be found," says an illustrious convert in the pages of the *Dublin*, "to enliven in dejection and to comfort in anxiety, to cool the over-sanguine, to refresh the weary, and to awe the worldly, to instil resignation into the impatient and calmness into the fearful and agitated,—they are there." But many of George Eliot's Protestant readers may be unaware that the "little, old, clumsy book," to whose "miracle-working" powers he pays so just a tribute,—I mean *Thomas à Kempis*,—has been for centuries a text-book of the spiritual life throughout the Church, and even beyond it, that it has been translated into every language of Europe, and is in the hands of nearly every Catholic who can read. To this book the poor child turns in her extremity rather than to any of the countless volumes of sermons, tracts, and treatises, in gold edges and morocco, which feed the fashionable devotion of that most fashionable of shams; the religious world. Nor does she turn in vain. The words of that little book remained with her through years of bitter suffering and in hours of cauterising agony,

and helped to nerve her for bearing that last cross which was to be her passage to a rest she had never known on earth.

I cannot follow her through all the details of her mournful history, but there are one or two points which seem to call for special notice. The moral problem raised by her flight with Stephen Guest, and her manner of settling it, have been severely criticised. There is a strong feeling in England which rises up against any nice discussion of moral questions, and brands it with the opprobrious name of "casuistry." Yet the minute discriminations of casuistry, or, as I prefer terming it, of moral theology, however open to misapplication, mark a truth of human nature to which our author has most properly called attention;—the most important though much-neglected truth, that no cut-and-dried rules of conduct, no mere rough-and-ready maxims, however unimpeachable in the abstract, can avail to unravel the infinite complexities of life, without a careful consideration of those nicer shades of character and circumstance which go far to determine the nature of each individual case; without that the old proverb is verified, *summum jus, summa injuria*, of which Tom's conduct is so conspicuous an example. Given the circumstances, I think the issue is fairly stated in this case, and that Maggie decided rightly. But I demur, not on moral grounds, but on grounds of verisimilitude, to the circumstances being given at all. It seems to me almost inconceivable that a girl of her principles and character, impulsive though she was, should have allowed herself, while practically engaged to one man, to get entangled in so absorbing a passion for another, with little but a sweet tongue, a ready self-possession, and a large muscular development to recommend him, while every rule of prudence, honour, duty, and affection clamorously required her to check his first advances. And it is, to say the least, questionable whether the infirmity of will which yielded, when the inducements to resistance were so many and so powerful, would have braced itself to a successful struggle, when the moral problem had lost its original clearness, and every argument of worldly prudence was notoriously in favour of identifying duty with inclination, and succumbing to what a high authority is fond of designating the "inexorable logic of facts." I say it is questionable, for undoubtedly there *are* people who can do very difficult acts under the pressure of violent excitement, while they would shrink in their calmer moments from a far more imperative and less onerous effort; just as chronic invalids, who cannot ordinarily walk fifty yards, will occasionally leap

a five-barred gate in a sudden paroxysm of terror for themselves or those they love.

That the public opinion of St. Ogg's would have easily condoned our heroine's fault, had she married Stephen when he ran away with her, and thereby broken the hearts of two persons most justly dear to her, besides sealing irrevocably the guilt of a momentary weakness, is obvious enough. That when she returned, unmarried and disgraced, though still innocent, it would be merciless in its righteous condemnation is equally natural. It was to be expected that outraged respectability should arise and shake itself, as at other times, and pronounce its solemn verdict. The world's judgments are usually a mixture of prudence and prudery. It speaks in the tone of the unbending Pharisee, but its measure is flexible as the interests it aspires to preserve. Reversing the maxim of the Roman poet, it crushes the fallen and cringes to the proud. It speaks well of those who do good unto themselves, and speaks evil of those whose opinion it can afford to despise. George Eliot has touched this subject with his happiest and most deserved satire, forcible because it comes home with all the force of truth. The pitiless mischief-making of those most contemptible of beings, the old women, whether in trousers or petticoats, who are the centres and disseminators of gossip, and of that *on dit* of their little world which it is their proud privilege to create and sustain, has seldom been dealt with more effectively. For, be it remembered, the world in such cases does not mean the nine hundred millions who compose the human family, or that embodiment of unchristian influences which is called the world in Scripture and spiritual books. It means that particular clique, or coterie, or society, whatever it be, which is to each individual his own little world. To the schoolboy the public opinion of his school, to the clergyman the public opinion of the clerical circle in which he moves, to the barrister the public opinion of the bar, to each inhabitant the public opinion of his town or village,—represents what is to him the public opinion of the world. To Maggie it is expressed by the public opinion of St. Ogg's. Happy are those who are so skilful or so prosperous as to avoid its censure; happier still those whom a *mens conscia recti* enables to treat it with indifference. But the trial is often a hard one; and it was the last drop which made her chalice of agony overflow.

One would gladly have glanced over some of the minor characters in the tale. Dr. Kenn, the model rector, is a very different person from our old friend Mr. Irwine, and possesses that tact and discriminating sympathy which are such im-

portant qualifications for the clerical office. Philip Wakem is a very natural and interesting character. Nor must I forget to commend to my readers a special favourite of my own, Bob Jakin, the *ci-devant* rat-catcher, who is perhaps one of the most charming of our author's less finished sketches. But I must leave them to study them, and others with them, in the pages of the book itself. A few general criticisms are all I can find room for here.

Something has already been said of the religious tendencies of George Eliot's writings. I am now in a position to add, that they bear a striking indirect evidence, in more ways than one, to the truth of Catholicism as alone answering the deeper needs of the heart of man. It is in no controversial spirit that I venture to indicate what is perhaps the unconscious testimony of so able and thoughtful a writer on this subject. Not that any detailed references could at all adequately convey the general impression left on my mind by a perusal of his tales: Astley Donnithorne's faltering resolution when a few words of whispered confession would have saved the accumulated misery of years; the earnestness of early Methodism, as contrasted with the practical heathenism of the Hayslope parishioners; or that fashionable society which "gets its science done by Faraday, and its religion by the superior clergy;" and the "variations of Protestantism" represented by the Dodson sisters, or old Mr. Tulliver dying with the muttered refusal to forgive his enemy hanging on his lips,—these all exhibit different aspects of the same fact; the place assigned to the *De Imitatione* in the discipline of Maggie's character, and the principles ascribed to Dr. Kenn, are also cases in point. But I shall best explain my meaning if I say, that these volumes have brought home to me with new emphasis a conviction which has long been my own, and which I am glad to find confirmed in a very interesting passage of Mr. W. G. Ward's recently-published volume.* I have always felt that the real distinction between the Catholic and Protestant *temper*, as such, lies not in any mere doctrinal controversies, however important, but in a fundamental principle on which there is professedly no controversy at all. The real objection of Protestants is not against Mariolatry, or purgatory, scapulars, or the Mass. These are but straws to show the direction of the current, the indications of a deeper and more radical difference, from which all variety of subordinate detail ultimately flows. And that difference is, that the Catholic realises, what the Protestant theoretically admits but practically ignores, the Personality of God, as no

* Nature and Grace. Part I.: Philosophical Introduction.

mere abstract Being or System of Laws, but the real and living Object of adoration, obedience, and love. This is the *fons et origo* from which are derived all those peculiarities, whether of faith or worship, which are most offensive to the genuine Protestant; and the true answer to his objections may be summed up in the words of the Magdalen, "They have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him." Hence too the one religion consists, as Mr. Irwine expresses it, in "certain dim but strong emotions, suffusing themselves as a hallowing influence over the family affections and neighbourly duties;" a view closely agreeing with the description of Protestantism given not long ago in the *Saturday Review*. To us, on the other hand, religion is indeed all this; but it is much more also, as implying those supernatural duties and powers of which this world is the temporary theatre, but can never be the home. I well remember, some years ago, on visiting Fountains Abbey with a Protestant picnic party, the quiet complacency with which one young gentleman observed, while discussing an excellent luncheon, "I don't think God made His creatures to shut themselves up in such a place as this." The same view receives a graver illustration in the strange criticisms lately pronounced by an eminent Protestant historian and high dignitary of the Establishment on that very book, the *De Imitatione*, of which George Eliot has shown a juster appreciation.

I have already adverted incidentally to one or two faults which strike me as calling for correction in our author's future publications—for I trust there are many yet to come. Such is the carelessness of dramatic unity, and an occasional disregard of probabilities. I am inclined, further, to accuse him of a slight but quite perceptible tendency to exaggeration, which is dangerous because it helps to blunt the edge of sarcasm, and gives an air of improbability to what in itself is perfectly true to life. I may point, as examples of this habit, to Maggie's running away to the gipsies; an escapade unlikely in itself and unnecessary as an evidence of her romantic turn of mind. So, again, Mrs. Pullet's long rows of medicine-bottles, and the grotesque solemnity of her little procession to pay a kind of domestic latria to her new bonnet, seem to us overdrawn. The same may be said of Mrs. Glegg's retiring for eight hours of solitary meditation to her darkened upper chamber, with a basin of gruel and Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, by way of arresting a quarrel with her long-suffering spouse.

Still, after all deductions have been made, I have seldom read novels that have more interested or delighted me than

these. Beside their surface attractions, which are considerable, they are a perfect mine of psychological study and of proverbial philosophy, very different from Mr. Tupper's. There are said to be persons who make a rule of reading one novel, and only one, a year. If any such should cast an eye on these pages, I would strongly recommend him to let that one be a novel of George Eliot's.

O. M.

Correspondence.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

SIR,—Two letters of very different calibre, and conceived in a very different spirit, have appeared in your last Number, in reply to my own. One is a comment, partly favourable, partly unfavourable, on my arguments; the other is an attack on myself. The latter I should have preferred passing over in silence, but that the extreme importance of the subject under review makes it desirable to meet even every semblance of objection to its discussion, and the more so when that objection takes the shape of an implicit charge of disloyalty to the Church, however unmerited and unproved. Before proceeding, therefore, to notice the theories propounded by "F.," it may be as well to say a few words on "H. O.'s" denunciation of me for propounding any theories at all.

I must premise that it is such portions alone of my letter as refer exclusively to ecclesiastical education that he has elected to criticise. His method of doing so is of that kind which may occasionally silence, but can never convince, and which consists in insinuating that every one is a heretic, or something like it, whose opinions have the misfortune to differ from one's own. This style of argumentation is more consistently expressed in an *auto da fê* than in a serial, and is difficult to meet, for the simple reason that it appeals, not to the judgment, but to the prejudices, of those to whom it is addressed. On the free use which he has, as he somewhat *naïvely* expresses it, "taken the liberty to" make of that favourite but most offensive weapon of weak and unscrupulous controversialists, viz. garbled and interpolated quotations, I forbear to dwell.

His argument divides itself into three portions, which are respectively grounded on an extract from the Tridentine Canons, an extract from Dr. Newman's *University Lectures*, and an extract from a letter in the *Guardian* newspaper. I will take first his references to the Council. He considers that the whole question which I have presumed to raise was "put to rest" three centuries ago by "the Fathers of an Assembly in Spiritu Sancto congregata." My first remark is this: "H. O." seems quite unaware that decisions on matters of discipline, as distinguished from matters of faith, even

though acts of an œcumenical council, are both variable in their nature, and have been very frequently changed. To take but one crucial instance: the rules which regulate the intercourse of Catholics with *hæretici tolerati* were pretty well revolutionised by the Council of Constance. Nay, I will venture to express a doubt whether even "H. O." feels bound, in deference to the decrees of the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem (which expressly lay claim to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost) "to abstain from things strangled and from blood." The Council of Trent, as is sufficiently obvious, was legislating for Catholic countries in the sixteenth century, under circumstances as totally different as can well be imagined from those of Protestant England in the nineteenth. To go no further, there are some of its enactments, as *e.g.* that which prescribes separate seminaries for each diocese, which it would be all but physically impossible to carry out in a country where Catholics are a mere handful in the midst of an heretical population, certainly quite impossible to carry out with any regard to efficient administration. Great allowances, again, would have to be made for the marked peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon character, which existed equally before the Reformation, and would continue to exist were England to become Catholic to-morrow. The Church has ever known how to combine unity in essentials with all but infinite diversity of accidental detail, as the exigencies of time, place, or circumstance may require. But I am not left to conjecture here. "H. O." is apparently ignorant that the Council of Trent has never been received in England; a fact which would alone be fatal to his argument. And it so happens that, in both particulars in which he has invoked its authority against me, the existing English practice—not always, I admit, very consistent with itself—is on my side. It is a little amusing that your other correspondent, "F.," should have gone out of his way to remind me of this very point. The seminary, says "H. O.," is "to consist exclusively of ecclesiastics." But each of the three English colleges—Ushaw, Oscott, and St. Edmund's—combines in various proportions, and with some variety of regulative details, lay and ecclesiastical students under the same roof. Once more. The Council specifies a certain *curriculum* for ecclesiastics, which "H. O." appears to consider a kind of law of the Medes and Persians, which it is sacrilege either to fall short of or to exceed, and which he not incorrectly designates as "narrow," *i.e.* exclusively professional. It is not the *curriculum* to which any of our colleges profess to confine themselves. To take only one point: the decree evidently does not contemplate the study of Greek,—nor is this wonderful, considering the time when it was drawn up,—yet Greek forms some part, at least, of the studies in all our English colleges; I suppose also in Continental ones. Your correspondent's theory would seal up for our clergy (and here I regret to observe that "F." agrees with him) that most majestic, most touching, most expressive of languages, which combines at once the noblest creations of philosophical and poetic genius, and the *ipsissima verba* of the proclamation of the

New Law. May God avert so deplorable a calamity! I have one further remark to make on "H. O.'s" references to the Council. He certainly is not happy in his quotations. The colleges of which the decree speaks are for *pauperum filii præcipuè*; but he was perfectly aware, for he has extracted the passage from my letter, that my suggestions had reference mainly to students of a higher class. It was for *them* I expressed my belief that a very different system from St. Sulpice would be found profitable; and this, not one of my critics has even attempted to dispute. I shall necessarily have to return to the subject, however, by and by.

From the decrees of Trent, my censor passes *currente calamo* to Dr. Newman's *University Lectures* of 1852, and introduces an extract, most luminous in itself, but most infelicitous in his use of it, for the apparent purpose of convincing me that theology and liberal education are two different things, and that a hero need not be a gentleman. I should as soon dream of denying that a good cricketer is a different thing from a good composer of Greek iambs, though it is very possible, and far from uncommon, for both excellencies to be combined in the same individual. But I am quite sure Dr. Newman did not mean, and am unwilling to suspect even "H. O." of wishing to imply, what alone could give any relevancy to his quotation, that it is *desirable*, where such a consummation can be secured, for a priest to be either an ignoramus or a snob. However, as he has appealed to Dr. Newman's authority, I will add a brief quotation from his sermon on "Intellect the Instrument of Religious Training," to which I may have occasion to refer again, and the whole of which I would commend to your correspondent's serious attention:

"It is commonly thought, because some men follow duty, others pleasure, others glory, and others intellect, therefore that one of these things excludes the other; that duty cannot be pleasant, that virtue cannot be intellectual, that goodness cannot be great, that conscientiousness cannot be heroic; and the fact is often so, I grant, that there *is* a separation, though I deny its necessity."

I could of course quote page after page of those very *University Lectures* to which "H. O." refers in defence or illustration of my argument.

But it is time to turn to his last authority, a correspondent in the *Guardian* newspaper, whose pungent critique on Anglican preaching I had myself read some weeks before with considerable amusement, but whose remarks are perfectly consistent with my previous statements, even when garnished with that liberal allowance of italics in which "H. O." might compete with a whole academy of young ladies. I could cap his extract from the *Guardian* with dozens, if not hundreds, of similar comments in the Protestant press, to say nothing of personal experience; and they go to prove, what I should be the last to deny, that the average standard of Anglican preaching is, compared to what it might be, miserably low. That it is even likely to become more so, from the annually

decreasing number of men of any mark at the Universities who enter the Protestant ministry, I can well believe. But all this is quite consistent with the fact I insisted on, that it generally bears that impress of a refined and educated mind which it is difficult to describe, but impossible not instinctively to recognise or to miss, and which, while it relieves a bad sermon from being simply intolerable, gives tenfold effect to a good one. Taking, however, those very points which are criticised by the *Guardian* correspondent in average Anglican preaching, I would ask "H. O." whether, from his own experience, he thinks average Catholic preaching would gain much by a comparison with it. Is a "somniferous and *latinised* dialect" *e. g.* exclusively confined to the pulpits of the Establishment? or is that tub oratory which "Medicus Mayfairensis" desiderates in his own communion so common an accomplishment among ourselves?

And now, having followed "H. O." through the heterogeneous details of his rambling indictment, I would seize the opportunity, before taking my leave of him, to make a remark on the tacit assumption which underlies his whole argument, that on matters which in their final decision rest with ecclesiastical authority no *ιδιώτης* should think or speak. I would first observe that the Catholic laity are intimately concerned in the matter, as one main cause of the low standard of education arises from their defective appreciation of its importance. I would further remind him of what Perrone teaches, and what was so notably instanced the other day in the case of the Immaculate Conception, viz that the *sensus fidelium* was a plea among the preliminaries even of dogmatic definitions; nay more, that there have been periods in her history when, under the infliction of time-serving or heretical pastors, the Church has, humanly speaking, been thrown back on that *sensus fidelium* as the main support of the Holy See, and the main preservative of her faith. *A fortiori*, then, we may suppose that, in matters not of faith, but of practice, and depending largely on observation of simply human phenomena, our ecclesiastical rulers would desire to be conversant with the sentiments of the faithful as an important item among the *data* on which their judgments would be ultimately formed. But this is impossible without a free ventilation of such questions, conducted of course in that spirit of moderation and deference to authority to which "F." refers. Your correspondent may perhaps be unaware of what all great Catholic writers have maintained (as *e. g.* Lacordaire), that the Church contains in her divine constitution the elements, while rejecting the evils, of all the three typical forms of government, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which have divided among themselves the suffrages of mankind. But he will scarcely dispute that the *Ecclesia docens* is then most happy and most triumphant when she has secured for her edicts, not only the material obedience, but the intelligent sympathy of her children.

It is with a sensation of positive relief that I turn from "H. O.'s"

declamatory onslaught to "F.'s" temperate and ably reasoned letter, which it is impossible to read without interest, though there are points of grave importance on which I still feel compelled respectfully, but very decidedly, to differ from his views. First, however, let me thank him sincerely for the latter portion of his letter, which expresses, only far more fully and efficiently, all which on that subject I could have desired to convey. While, therefore, my comments will be confined to those points which seem to me to call for a reply, he must not suppose me oblivious of his valuable testimony on individuality of character, and the guidance of the objections, where he has relieved me from the necessity of adding a word to what he has so admirably stated. I will merely observe that I hail that testimony with the greater satisfaction, because I feel sure that the evils he deprecates are not altogether ideal, nor the opinion that strong natural affections are a disqualification for the priesthood, which he justly brands as "odious and paradoxical," either unknown or inoperative. Much light is thrown incidentally on the subject in the opening pages of the article on the "Ancient Saints" in your last Number, where the salient features in the character and influence of St. Chrysostom are touched upon, as also in two of Dr. Newman's *Occasional Sermons* on the character of St. Paul.

Having said thus much, I shall proceed to comment on the rest of your correspondent's letter with that freedom which the nature of the case requires, and under a deep conviction that in a right or wrong adjudication of the questions at issue most vital interests are at stake. It will be convenient, as far as possible, to follow his order; and I begin accordingly with the subject of mixed education for laymen and clerics, with which he opens. That the relations of the two classes of students are differently regulated at our different colleges I am quite aware; but I believe that those peculiarities of the system which appear to me most objectionable (as *e.g.* the narrow restrictions on general reading) are applied with equal stringency to *both*. Indeed, some of my previous remarks were partly grounded on circumstances which had come to my knowledge in reference to a college where the lay element is largely represented; but I have purposely abstained, and shall continue to abstain, from any reference to particular cases, both because I am most anxious to avoid giving needless offence, and because it is always undesirable to complicate questions of grave public importance with variable details of mere local or personal interest. I concede, then, at once to "F.," what, indeed, is obvious, that *if* a line of demarcation is to be strictly kept up between lay and clerical students, they had much better be educated in separate colleges altogether, for the sake of both. It is because I demur to his principles that I cannot accept his conclusion. Let me repeat, however, what I said before, that I am far from denying that there may be room in England even now for such a college as "F." desiderates, still less that there would be if our numbers were considerably augmented. But I should very strongly deprecate his system being made the general rule. And this leads me to explain

my reference to the social position and influence of the Anglican clergy, which seems to have been somewhat misapprehended. "F." thinks I overrate that influence. It was not, however, of its extent, but of its sources, that I spoke. That it is very considerable, I certainly believe; that it is quite possible to overrate it, I readily admit. Be this as it may, *one* source of their influence is undoubtedly to be sought in the fact of their being "married or marriageable," and their being consequently so closely bound up with the higher classes of English society. That means of influence (*valeat quantum*) is of course beyond the reach of a celibate priesthood. But I did not specially advert to the point, for the simple reason that I was dealing with matters open to discussion, and, as it appeared to me, to improvement; and the rule of clerical celibacy does not fall under that category. What I did refer to was, another and quite independent source of influence which the Anglican minister possesses in the knowledge of men and things gained from his close association at school and college with the future members of other professions, and the connections he then forms, which not unfrequently last for life. Now from this source of influence, and it is a very important one, a celibate clergy certainly is not *necessarily* precluded. Whether it is desirable that they should be, is a further question, and one to which I wished to call attention. Your correspondent, indeed, appears to consider that any power of the kind they might possess would become practically useless just in proportion to their conscientious discharge of their more direct and sacred duties; and he illustrates this view by a reference to the Tractarian clergy, who, just in the degree in which they approximate to Catholic priests, are apt to lose or diminish their influence. True; but when an Anglican minister devotes himself with exclusive zeal to the duties of his office, especially if he be unmarried and holds high views of the dignity of the priesthood, he is pretty certain to incur, and not unnaturally, the suspicion of "Puseyism," which would alone be very damaging to his influence in many quarters. But suppose he is not open to that charge, with which *we* are of course unconcerned. Take the case of the late Mr. Robertson, and the late Mr. George Wagner of Brighton, men of very different views, though equally opposed to what is called "Puseyism." Both were remarkable for their energetic application to their ministerial work; both remained unmarried to the last, and one of them has enlarged, in a published sermon, on the superior advantage of celibacy for a life of active devotion. Yet both, one especially, exercised a very deep and wide social influence within the circles of their respective congregations, and beyond them. Indeed, I never recollect reading any Protestant book that has reminded me so strongly of the life of a Catholic saint as the memoir of Mr. Wagner, full as it is of opinions from which every Catholic must dissent. If, therefore, a zealous Protestant minister is apt to become unpopular, I conceive it is not because he is zealous, but because he is supposed to be a Puseyite.

There appears, then, no reason to doubt that a very considerable range of moral and social influence lies open to the Catholic priesthood over and above what belongs to them merely in right of their office ; and it is clear that, putting aside personal gifts, whether of nature or of grace, with which we are not here concerned, its extent will depend mainly on three things, viz. their being partly drawn from the higher classes of the laity, their mingling freely with them during the period of education, and lastly, the character of that education itself,—questions different, indeed, but very closely connected. Is that influence worth securing ? Or is it preferable that the clergy should act on the popular mind *solely* through the direct ministrations of the confessional and the pulpit ? For that is part, though part only, of what is involved in the question at issue. For myself, I strongly incline to believe that, as a general rule, and taking into account the circumstances of the age and country, the isolating tendencies of that separate and exclusively professional education which “ F.” advocates would be injurious to the development of mind and character in the priest himself, as it certainly would be to the growth of that genuine sympathy, not only with the sorrows, but all the circumstances and difficulties of those with whom he will be brought into contact, on which “ F.” so strongly insists. It will of course be understood that I speak of a mixture of lay and ecclesiastical students on a footing of perfect equality, and not, as is said to be more or less the case at some of our English colleges, where the latter are apt to be looked down upon. That would more than defeat the main object of mixing them at all. The existing practice does not, in fact, carry out either idea consistently, but is a kind of compromise between the foreign seminary and the English school. Another argument for the mixed system, which has, indeed, already been implied, but which is too important to be passed over without express mention, will be found in the increased prospect of attracting youths of a higher social position, than is usual at present, to the service of the altar. There is obviously little probability of this without some modification of the existing *régime* ; and it would perhaps be scarcely reasonable to expect it. There is moreover a danger of the following kind incidental to the separate system, and which would be indefinitely increased by the exclusively theological character of the training which your correspondent recommends : I mean, the danger of theology becoming so entirely a *peculium* of the clergy as to lose by degrees its points of contact with human thought and life, and at last to crystallise into a kind of frost-work of technical terminology, lying wholly apart from the sphere of popular sympathy and apprehension, and treated by the laity at best as a something which, however true, is to them indifferent, which it is decent to respect, but unsuitable to dwell upon. I know not if I have expressed myself intelligibly ; but this tendency, which at any time would involve serious peril, cannot but assume special importance in an age at once highly intellectual and eminently sceptical, and which does not so much incline to any particular form

of heresy as to that master-heresy of all, the disparagement or denial of the existence of objective truth. At such a period the natural upshot of the tendency I have indicated would be, as past experience too faithfully testifies, first in the upper classes indifference, and among the poor superstition, and finally, in both a passionate rejection of faith. Many ways of course might be suggested for meeting the difficulty, as *e.g.* by claiming for theology, with F. Faber, a place among the studies of educated laymen.* But clearly one very important safeguard would be found in the cultivation of a genuine sympathy between clergy and laity during the period of education, and in maintaining an equally high standard of general education for both.

This brings me to speak more directly on the intellectual aspects of the question, though I must necessarily do so more briefly than I could wish. Your correspondent, if I rightly understand his drift, considers that a purely professional course is all that can, in most cases, be satisfactorily accomplished, and consequently all that should be aimed at in clerical education. Consistently with this view, he would substitute modern languages for the classics, retaining the study of Latin, not, however, as a method of mental discipline, but in so far as it is necessary for an intelligent use of the breviary, and the study of theological writers; a necessity, I may observe in passing, which would be still further curtailed should theology ever come to be studied in English text-books, such as Dr. Ward's. He would also maintain for ecclesiastics, though he would agree with me in discarding for laymen, the present very rigid restrictions on general reading. I will say a word on both points.

It would of course be impossible to repeat here the *crambe decies repetita* of arguments for classical studies on which volumes have been written. The experience of above two thousand years, and a *consensus* of educated men, will justify me in assuming the pre-eminent advantage *per se* of the study of the dead languages as an instrument of mental training for the young; while in the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome we study the history and learn the character of those two nations from whom nearly the whole of our modern civilisation is derived, and who have respectively formed the intellect and ruled the destinies of Europe. I repeat, that I am justified in assuming this, for I cannot stay to prove it. That battle was fought, and fought triumphantly, some thirty years ago by the champions of our schools and universities against the shallow and short-sighted materialism of the day. To their writings, and especially to Dr. Newman's masterly exposition of the whole subject, I would appeal. One had certainly not expected that Catholics would be the first to reproduce what has long been an exploded heresy in the literary and intellectual world. To say that the hard-working priest is unlikely to read Thucydides on

* See also Dr. Newman's lecture on "A Form of Infidelity of the Day," which points to another aspect of the same danger.

the mission, is simply to ignore the whole point of the question. The members of any other profession, whether hard-working or not, are as little likely to keep up their classical studies in later life, and very few actually do so. But the work is already done. We do not despise the technical rules of logic because our arguments are not always thrown into the shape of *Barbara Celarent*, nor is a scaffolding superfluous because we can dispense with it when the house is built. If, then, it is held, and rightly held, to be an advantage to a man to have passed through a liberal education, whatever be his subsequent career, whether as a physician, a barrister, an officer in the army, or a clerk in the Privy-Council Office, for the same reasons it is surely an advantage to a priest. And it is only in his case more important, because the full and healthy development of all his faculties, his being, to adopt a convenient Grecism, *ποιός τις*, is of so far greater spiritual importance in its results than is the case with other men. Of course where a man must begin to earn his bread at seventeen or eighteen, his previous education is inevitably much curtailed, and consists mainly in learning his particular trade. Necessity knows no law. But that is not the case of our clergy, who cannot, at earliest, be ordained before twenty-three. While, then, I quite recognise the importance of colloquial French, especially for a priest, I should earnestly deprecate its being made a substitute for classical studies, instead of being added to them, or its being allowed to usurp any thing like an equal proportion of the time and attention of those educating for the Church. Nay more, I believe that the study of theology itself, for which your correspondent is so laudably jealous, and which I would not say one syllable to disparage, would suffer from this neglect of the classics, because the student would not bring to bear upon it an equally trained and vigorous intellect. And I must express some surprise that he should not scruple, if only on theological grounds, to supersede the study of the original language of the New Testament in an age when every gentleman is expected to understand Greek.

There is one answer that may be urged to this line of argument, though it has already been in part anticipated; and what I say in examining it will apply both to the question of classical studies and also, in its measure, to an acquaintance with modern literature. It may be said, then, that a priest's business is a special art or trade of itself, like that of "a farmer or an artillery-officer," as "H. O." expresses it, and that such education is alone necessary or desirable as bears directly on its official requirements. I have already expressed my belief that the farmer or artillery-officer would be all the better for a good general education, where it can be had. In this case I say much more. It is perfectly true that no knowledge, save that of the ritual, is required for the validity of priestly acts, as neither is their efficacy dependent on moral character. But as none would deny that an immoral priesthood is a fearful hindrance to the salvation of souls, so let none depreciate the value of an educated intellect because it contributes nothing to the miracle of transubstantia-

tion. It does contribute much to the power and persuasiveness of those human ministrations, on which higher than human interests may often hinge ; it does contribute much to that nameless *ἐνδρα-πελία* which in all exertion of influence upon others is so critical an element of success. I would most earnestly put it to those who advocate an opposite view, whether they are prepared to acquiesce in a decidedly lower average of education and intelligence among the clergy than among the laity as a normal condition of things ; whether they consider it desirable, or even safe, that men should be unable to look with intellectual respect on those whom they are bound to reverence as the consecrated messengers of God ? The faithful will still of course resort to them for the sacraments. But among the educated and half-educated classes, who are increasing daily, there will be a growing alienation of sentiment. They will not come to their clergy for guidance in difficulty, for instruction in doubt, for sympathy in trouble ; in a word, they will not feel *confidence* in them. And what all this tends to we know full well. In France we have a clergy educated much as "F." would desire. Of their zeal and devotion it would be impossible to speak too highly. But they have not, as a body, secured the intellectual respect of their countrymen ; and consequently their influence over the male population is extremely limited ; while the exceptions are mainly to be found among men, like Lacordaire, who have passed in middle life from a secular career to the service of the altar. In parts of Italy, in Portugal, and in Mexico, clerical education is said to be at a very low ebb ; and we see the results in a wide-spread contempt for the priesthood, and not unfrequently in secret or open defection from the faith. Having spoken as strongly as I have done in a former letter on the far *greater* importance of rightly guiding the affections, I can hardly be accused of one-sidedness of view in urging how very much his subsequent influence depends on the intellectual training of a youth ; and, in this age and country, the Church needs every accessory of influence or power with which the highest education can invest her priests. Let it be remembered, that, for at least twelve centuries, the Catholic clergy were, in every department of knowledge, the undisputed leaders of European thought. There was little known, it is true, of any science but theology, and little study of any kind beyond the walls of the university or the cloister. Still, of all such studies as were there maintained (and the "Faculty of Arts" never lost its predominance among them), the clergy neglected none ; while those of them whose hands have left an impress on the page of history, and who, "being dead, yet speak," in the universal Church, were, not only in sanctity, but in intellect, the master-spirits of their age. Such were St. Augustine, St. Thomas, St. Gregory VII., Innocent III : such, I may add, were Daniel, under the Old Law, versed in all the wisdom of the Chaldeans, and St. Paul, under the New, who did not forget his heathen learning when he became a disciple and a doctor in the school of Christ. It is not, then, unreasonable, or otherwise than in strictest harmony with the spirit and traditions

of the Church, to plead for an education which shall at least secure her ministers against sinking beneath the average level of the intelligence of their day.

To apply this very briefly to the question of modern literature. It would probably startle most of us to find how much of the actual staple of the ordinary language of educated Englishmen, whether spoken or written, is unconsciously derived from those two great fountains of pure Saxon, Shakespeare and the Protestant Bible. Consider, again, the insight into character and lifelike appreciation of many passages of history which are gained from Scott's novels, with which most of us are familiar almost from the nursery. And these are of course mere samples, selected almost at random, of the way in which both the style and matter of literature act upon us, the one in extending the range of our knowledge of human nature, the other in clothing our thoughts. To its direct bearing, under both aspects, on the ministry of the pulpit, I have already referred; under one at least it touches still more closely on the duties of the confessional. But the increased capabilities of influence which it confers are not to be measured by these more immediate results. Yet Shakespeare and Scott, and with them all, or nearly all, the principal masters of poetry and fiction, must, on the restrictive theory, be placed on the Index. One distinct note of inferiority, both in knowledge and in taste, is thus at once established for clerics as compared with their fellow-men. And let it be borne in mind that a mere selection of literature carefully expurgated—I do not say of what is positively immoral, but of all which represents the waywardness of intellect, the vehemence of passion, the feebleness of principle, the versatility of sin, in a word, all which savours of the old Adam in man—is not, properly speaking, literature at all, for the simple reason that it *is* expurgated. It tells that half truth which is essentially a lie. It represents human nature, not as it is, but as it ought to be. You cannot have, as Dr. Newman has forcibly expressed it, “a sinless literature of sinful man.” To attempt it is but to leave your student to be suddenly confronted with vice in all the minuteness of its hideous detail in the manuals of his moral theology and the revelations of the confessional. Undoubtedly purity is in all cases of paramount importance; yet “F.” does not therefore desire to close to secular students the pages of *Childe Harold* or of *Lear*; and it is difficult to see why on this account ecclesiastical students should be kept in ignorance, even were it possible, of the existence and romance of a passion which in boyhood is not likely to be seriously felt, and which in manhood they will be called upon, not ignorantly, but deliberately, to abjure. But in fact it is *not* possible. There is only the danger lest knowledge, excluded in its healthier forms, should be sought in its worst. And at all events, in such matters a six weeks' vacation (which “F.” most consistently wishes to abolish) would undo the labours of a twelvemonth. “A miss is as good as a mile.”

Nor can I agree with your correspondent in thinking the chances

of such a rule being evaded an unimportant feature in the case. It is surely an indisputable axiom, and one never to be lost sight of, that *to multiply rules in indifferent matters is to multiply occasions of sin*. I am not saying that there are no occasions where it is necessary to do so. But we should at least be very certain of the necessity. For here, as in the case of an over-rigorous system of direction, it is a very serious responsibility to create new sins. An act in itself harmless is done with a guilty conscience, and the soul is stained. Now I cannot doubt, notwithstanding "F.'s" reliance on moral training, that such rules always would be, as in fact they always are, evaded in numberless cases, and grudgingly obeyed in the rest. And this is no light matter, especially when the effect on the mind of gradually-formed habits of disobedience and dodginess (if one may be allowed the expression) is taken into account. It is no answer to say that rules against immoral books may be evaded also. In the first place, the temptation to read them is far less when others are freely allowed. In the next place, to read them would, ordinarily speaking, be wrong in itself, and their prohibition does but enforce what was a duty before. Moreover the line of demarcation is not usually difficult to draw. Nobody, *e. g.* would put *Don Juan* into the hands of boys. But it is very difficult, on the opposite theory, to know where to draw the line. Some desire to keep youths in ignorance of the distinction of the sexes; others would banish all mention of home affections; some are content with proscribing any reference to unlawful passion; while others include the delineation of love altogether. There is only this in common between the various theories, that any of them consistently carried out would make an acquaintance with even English literature impossible, and *a fortiori* with that of Italy or France; while many of the objections urged against the modern classics are equally available against those of the ancient world, and are only consistent in the mouth of such as would substitute, with the Abbé Gaume, the Christian Fathers for the pagan authors of Greece and Rome in the instruction of youth.

I will close my imperfect remarks on this branch of the subject with an extract from a sermon of Dr. Newman's, to which I have already had occasion to refer. The italics are, with one exception, my own.

"Devotion is not a sort of finish given to the sciences, nor is science a sort of feather in the cap,—if I may dare so to express myself,—an ornament and set-off of devotion. I want the intellectual layman to be religious, *and the devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual*. This is no matter of terms, nor of subtle distinctions. Sanctity has its influence, intellect has its influence; the influence of sanctity is greater in the long-run; the influence of intellect is greater at the moment. Therefore, in the case of the young, whose education lasts a few years, where the intellect is, *there* is the influence. Their literary, their scientific teachers usually have the forming of them. Let both influences act freely, and then, as a general rule, *no system of*

mere religious guardianship which neglects the reason will in matter of fact succeed against the school. Youths need a masculine religion, if it is to carry captive their restless imaginations, and their wild intellects, as well as touch their susceptible hearts."

The author's drift is, indeed, somewhat different from my own. It is vindicating for religion its place in intellectual training, as I would vindicate for the intellect its place in religious education. But the application of his argument is obvious, and the more so when it is remembered that the clergy, as a general rule, are, and ought to be, the educators as well as the guides of the faithful.

My letter has already run to so inconvenient a length, after the most careful compression consistent with doing any sort of justice to the argument, that I almost tremble to contemplate the extent and complexity of the subject which still lies before me. I must venture, however, to extend a little further my plea for the kind indulgence of your readers, while I advert, as briefly as the nature of the case admits of, to that portion of your correspondent's letter which deals with the question of collegiate discipline. In doing so, I am met with a difficulty on the threshold; for I cannot gather with any certainty whether his observations are intended to be general, or to apply exclusively to the case of ecclesiastical students. While he makes some admissions which, on the former theory, are perfectly suicidal, his arguments, for the most part, would cover both cases. I also feel doubtful as to the *extent* of his differences from me, where we do differ, taking into account the very important reservations which he makes, and the tone of the later portion of his letter, with which I have already expressed my entire and cordial agreement. On the whole, perhaps I shall hardly misinterpret his meaning, when I assume that he prefers a system of very close *surveillance* to one of comparative freedom and enlarged responsibility, and that he regards the increased opportunities for hindrance of material sin a sufficient compensation for the admitted after-dangers of the system, especially considering the case of boys who die in early youth. He clenches this view by reference to "the frightful and well-authenticated stories of immorality in Protestant schools." This is not, I believe, an unfair statement of his view. Of his special reservations I will speak presently.

The argument drawn from those who die *in statu pupillari* is not, I think, one which can be much insisted on. We cannot legislate for exceptions. Undoubtedly many a boy may owe his salvation to dying before he had left the shelter of his father's roof; but that has never been held a valid argument for a home education. It is surely our truest wisdom, and the most real charity, to determine what is likely to answer best in the long-run, and leave those special exceptions, which we cannot provide against, in the hands of a merciful God. There is more at first sight in the argument drawn from the alleged immorality of Protestant schools, but I do not think on examination it will be found to have the slightest value, and that for many reasons. In the first place, I suppose, it

would be quite possible to bring forward well-authenticated stories of grave immorality in Catholic colleges, which still would not prove much. In the next place, I think, judging both from personal experience, and from the testimony of others, that "F." very considerably over-estimates the actual amount of the evil, serious as I admit it to be, and that it is generally far worse in what are called private schools, which are under a much stricter system of *surveillance*, than at the great public schools. Boys generally bring with them to the latter much more mischief than they learn there, unless they come fresh from home, or come very young. It must be remembered, too, that there has been a marked improvement, I might almost say a revolution, in the character of the public schools during the last twenty or thirty years, mainly owing to the singular gifts and extraordinary influence of the late Dr. Arnold. Of this at least I feel certain, that it is quite possible for a boy to pass through one of them unscathed (as it is of course very easy to pass through the University), and that some actually do so. That they are so few is perfectly explicable, without any reference to the particular discipline of their school. It is not because it is a public school, but simply because it is a Protestant one. And this brings me to my main objection to any argument drawn from the superior morality (which I fully admit) of Catholic colleges to the disparagement of the public-school system. It is merely begging the question. Till we have a Catholic Eton, or a Protestant Stonyhurst, there are absolutely no *data* whatever for such a comparison to go upon. Every Catholic must admit that the presence or absence of confession and sacramental grace, to say nothing of Catholic instruction from earliest childhood, is abundantly sufficient to account for even a wider difference of actual result. Till these "disturbing causes," so to speak, are eliminated, the first conditions of any valid argument based on that result are wanting. The nearest approximation that I know of to any crucial case is to be found in some recent "Puseyite" colleges, which have been more or less modelled, in their external discipline, on the Stonyhurst type, but which share of course, with other Protestant schools, the deprivation of sacramental grace. So far as my information extends, while their intellectual training is notably inferior to that of their rivals, the loss is, to say the least, not compensated by any superiority of moral result. I conceive, then, that any argument against the *system* of our English public schools (which elicited from Montalembert such enthusiastic admiration), grounded on their actual moral state, even if the utmost that can be laid against them on that head were admitted, to which I demur, would prove nothing, till it is shown that Protestant youths are elsewhere freer from those sins against purity, which, as a *consensus* of spiritual writers assures us, it is for most men, especially young men, morally impossible to avoid without a special grace, or the constant use of the sacraments. We do but see, on the one hand, the really noble fruits of a discipline which has produced a race of men in ability, in character, in gentlemanly

breeding, unrivalled in the world, but which yet is powerless to effect what grace alone can do ; we see on the other, under what I venture to consider the drawbacks of a defective system, the triumph of the sacraments and the faith.

Your correspondent must not, then, suppose that I am hazarding an opinion lightly and hastily formed, or even without a previous bias in the opposite direction, which further thought and observation has emphatically reversed, still less that I am speaking from a mere spirit of blind and restless innovation, which is every whit as foolish as a mere blind conservatism, when I express my strong and growing conviction that a system modelled, *mutatis mutandis*, on that of the English public schools would be found, when supplemented with the enormous make-weights of Catholic teaching and Catholic practice, the best both morally and intellectually for the training of our youth. A system of strict *surveillance* (and it must be very strict indeed to accomplish all which "F." requires of it) doubtless has its advantages. It has also very serious dangers for those who are hereafter to be flung on the world, whether as laymen or as secular priests. It does little for eliciting the manly virtues ; it helps to deaden the sense of responsibility ; it checks rather than fosters the development of character. These are no light matters ; and I have heard statements on the best authority as to the after-career of boys educated at our colleges which go to prove that such dangers have a very real existence. There are some kinds of sin, again, which cannot be specified here, which it is no mere conjecture to say that a minute system of inspection has rather a tendency to suggest, from the very fact of its minuteness. If your correspondent is disposed to agree with me as far as lay students are concerned, he may perhaps be induced to consider whether many of the arguments which have weight in the one case are not also applicable to the other, and whether the difficulties with which he admits the system of *surveillance* to be hampered are not very much easier of solution in theory than in life.

This brings me finally to notice his four "reserves," which I will take *seriatim* as they occur in his letter.

1. He first delineates, with graphic accuracy of outline, the requisite characteristics in those who are to be intrusted with the office of superintendence ; and nobody will quarrel with the delineation. Only I cannot help fearing that, like the *παμβασιλεύς* of Aristotle, whose power is to be absolute because it is to be the personal embodiment of law, these ideal masters will be very far to seek. And it must be remembered, that practically the range of choice will be an exceedingly limited one. The old and insuperable difficulty of Plato's Republic, *τίς φυλάξει τοὺς φύλακας* ; recurs instinctively to one's mind. That the system should be carried out by such persons as are here described, and by such alone, if it is to be carried out at all, there cannot be a moment's doubt. It must not be imagined that I would say a word to discountenance the friendly and familiar intercourse of masters and boys, grounded on a genuine

feeling of sympathy on the one hand, and responded to by a trustful and affectionate respect on the other. Such intercourse I hold to be most eminently desirable. But it differs *toto cælo* from an organised system of regimental inspection ; or rather, the one is utterly inconsistent with the other. It is this latter which we have imported from the Continent, and against which I protest.

2. "F.'s" next suggestion, that *surveillance* should be gradually relaxed with increasing age, seems naturally to point to the institution of preparatory schools for younger boys (say under twelve or thirteen), which might with advantage be placed under a somewhat different *régime* in many respects than would afterwards be desirable. An age might be fixed below which boys would be inadmissible into the senior colleges ; and also an age *after* which lay students could never be received, nor those intended for the Church, unless under very special circumstances.

3. The inconsistency of periodical vacations with the results contemplated by a strict system of *surveillance* is so glaringly self-evident that I cannot wonder at "F.'s" desire to abolish them. They are viewed, I believe, sometimes as "trials of vocation." Yet no one would turn out a hothouse exotic for a week at Christmas to try its strength. "F." must, however, be aware that his suggestion of spending the holidays in a country-house under collegiate rule could not possibly be carried out, except with certain trial students. And even in their case it seems difficult to reconcile some of the sentiments in a later portion of his letter with his willingness to supersede altogether the fostering and kindly influences of a mother's care and love. From my own point of view, I should desire rather to multiply than to diminish the opportunities of home intercourse. Indeed, your correspondent's admissions on this point alone are, to my mind, fatal to his theory.

4. To his last suggestion, that the duties and dangers of after-life should be frequently and affectionately dwelt upon both in public and private, I can but express my cordial assent. No place of education where that was neglected would deserve the name.

And now, sir, I have gone carefully, and to the best of my ability, though far more cursorily than I could have wished, through every objection which either of your correspondents has raised against me. Much, indeed, might be added, but I have already trespassed too long on the patience of yourself and your readers. Of my most imperfect manipulation of this great subject no one can be more painfully conscious than myself. It is at least something to have broken the ice. Nor can I think lightly of the strong expression of sympathy on one most fundamental point which has already been elicited in your pages. Your readers will not require to have their attention directed by me to a striking article on "Dr. Arnold and Catholic Education" which appeared in the July Number of *Brownson's Quarterly*, and has attracted the favourable notice of the English Catholic press. I refer to it here both in evidence of the growing recognition of the high importance of the

question, and as supplying, on every point which the writer has touched upon, a remarkable, because wholly independent, testimony to the correctness of my views. The writer has spoken, indeed, far more strongly than I have done; but there is scarcely a word which does not apply with full force to the state of Catholic education in England, or which I would not make entirely my own. If he has not scrupled to avow as his conclusion, "*Our colleges and academies are failures,*" he has not done so without pointing out both the causes and the remedies of their defective state.

In conclusion, I would venture to make one most earnest appeal, not, certainly, to such writers as my reviewer in the *Tablet* of July 7, whose coarse vituperation is its own sufficient reply, but to all who think with me that a serious subject is only degraded by the dodges of a tricky controversialism or the bitterness of personal invective. On all such I would urge, not, indeed, to accept unthinkingly what may seem to come before them with the impression of novelty, but neither on that account to reject it. I would entreat them to consider how much, how very much, is involved directly or indirectly in the settlement of this momentous question. *Spes messis in semine.* It has passed into a proverb that the hopes of a nation are centred in its youth. And it is not too much to say that on the training of our Catholic youth, whether clerical or lay, depends, humanly speaking, more than on any other single circumstance, the solution of a problem whose paramount importance it is not easy to overrate. It is this, whether we are or are not to win back this great, noble-hearted, Anglo-Saxon people, with its strong will, its patient energy, its enterprising courage, its rough-spoken candour, and its obstinate integrity, to the obedience of faith and the unity of the Church of God. Where such interests are at stake, it is no time for the contemptible littlenesses of personal jealousy or party strife. We are the heirs of a tremendous responsibility, a glorious work, which it is ours to make or mar. Let us look well to it, for "there is thunder on the horizon as well as dawn." τὸ δ' εὖ ρικάτω.

Your obedient servant,
X. Y. Z.

P.S. I had finished this letter before reading one signed "A. B. C." in the *Tablet* of September 15. To answer it in detail would be to rewrite my own. As it happens, however, most of its criticisms will be found implicitly noticed in what I have already said. On some points "F." has, by anticipation, answered it for me. On more than one the writer has strangely missed my drift. Thus, *e. g.* I contrasted the "system of confidence," not with that of *duty* (with which it is practically coincident), but with that of "police." And, as regards a master's principle of dealing with his boys, the division is surely an exhaustive one. Only, while the former principle recognises the force of responsibility, *i. e.* of duty, the other does *not*. On some questions of *fact* "A. B. C." seems to be at issue with me, and here of course argument would be out of place. Thus he ap-

parently thinks our present system does actually produce a high ascetic temper. I speak rather from the observation of others better qualified to judge than from my own, when I express my disbelief in any such general result. Again, he thinks that restrictions on reading in our colleges extend only to dramatic and novel literature, and not without exceptions even there. I should indeed consider such a restriction far from desirable; but I have the best reasons for believing that here, as on other points, he is quite mistaken in his facts. Two remarks on his general line of argument are all that can be added here. First, while some parts of it are occupied in demonstrating truisms, there are others which prove too much. Thus, if the restrictive system (not as regards *immoral* books, about which there is no dispute) is really so invaluable a means of preserving purity, it should be applied, as it now is, indiscriminately to *all* students, not only to ecclesiastics. Secondly, a double fallacy appears to me to underlie the greater part of his argument. He recognises no distinction between the training of saints and that of ordinary Christians, and he practically identifies the system of a religious novitiate with that of a secular college. St. Aloysius, St. Stanislas, and Ven. J. Berchmanns, were all of them Jesuits, two of them canonised saints, and the third very near it. The presumption, therefore, is, that the system which was best for them would *not* be suitable for the common run of youths, whether lay or clerical, who are very unlike them. Doubtless the training of St. Aloysius and St. Stanislas would be the best model for the general education of boys, if the general character of the boys to be educated was modelled on St. Aloysius and St. Stanislas. Those who are so privileged would naturally find a home in a college of the Sulpician type, or, more probably still, in the novitiate of a religious order. But they are the exception, not the rule. And we have to legislate, not for special and rare creations of supernatural grace, but for the average material which presents itself to be manipulated, whether for the world or the Church. The nature and ulterior aims of a religious novitiate differ so entirely in kind from those of any secular education, whether ecclesiastical or lay, that what is suitable in the one case is pretty certain to be injurious in the other. It is one thing to train a man for bearing his part *in* the world, whether as priest or layman, and another thing to train him for quitting it.

OUR MOST NOBLE SELVES.

SIR,—The elevation of our literary character is an object which the *Rambler* is known to have at heart, and to which it has itself materially contributed. But there is one department of our public writing to which, as far as I am aware, you have not yet addressed yourself, at least with the earnestness which the case demands, and with the severity which is justified by our actual short-comings,—I

mean, what may be termed our historical style of journalism,—the mode in which the passing events of our community are habitually recorded in our ephemeral publications. I am fully alive to the delicacy of treatment which this malady requires. So many, indeed, are the personal considerations and private sympathies which it touches, that, but for a very strong sense of the mischief it is working, not to speak of, what is a very secondary matter, the unfavourable criticism to which it exposes us from the pens of our vigilant enemies, I should greatly have preferred to leave the subject alone. But I am persuaded that the evil runs deeper than we are apt to imagine. The inflated and hyperbolic style of description which is growing up among us must necessarily react upon our own characters, by generating a state of atmosphere around us which can scarcely be inhaled as a habit without injury to our moral and spiritual truth. We live, in short, in a perennial blaze of fireworks, which colour surrounding objects with an unnatural glare, instead of the sober and tranquillising tints of this prosaic world. What is worse, they cast their reflection upon ourselves.

The evil in question admits of the fullest exemplification. Not a week passes without something to force it upon our notice. But, as the task of illustration is more or less invidious, I shall produce but a very few specimens in explanation of my meaning. Indeed, the thing is so commonly talked about among well-educated Catholics, that little can be said which will not have been anticipated. Let me premise, then, that I am far from wishing to include the principals in what is mainly the offence of the subordinates. It is not the able conductors of our newspapers who are chiefly in fault,—though I must still think that there is a want among them of editorial vigilance and courage,—but a host of minor scribes, whose redundancies the heads of the department seem unwilling to prune, or of local “correspondents,” whom, from a natural delicacy, they do not wish to discourage. No one, indeed, who acknowledges, what most of us must feel, the very great improvement which has taken place in our ephemeral literature during the last few years, would desire to say a word on this subject, in which every sensible conductor of a public journal would not agree, and even wish to be said, as a protection to his own authority.

Why, then, Mr. Editor, is it that we Catholics never seem to walk abroad but upon stilts? Why must our daily doings be chronicled in such pompous and eulogistic language? Not a preacher among us but is eloquent, not a “function” but is grand, not a convert but is pious, not an enterprise but either succeeds or fails through no fault of ours! You remember that useful manual called the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which used to sustain the failing powers of our puerile imaginations by such a copious supply of ready-made epithets and convenient phrases. Do you know, I have sometimes thought of a Catholic counterpart of this serviceable volume. Here is a specimen:—“Sermon:’ eloquent, impressive, able, affecting, worthy of the distinguished preacher. ‘Function:’ grand,

magnificent, edifying, worthy of the ages of faith, unequalled since the days of the so-called Reformation." No long time ago it happened that one of our most popular preachers had been advertised to appear on a public occasion. The preacher, however, was called away, and the sermon did not come off. Eloquent no doubt it would have been had it been preached; but it was not preached. The next day, however, out came the prepared announcement: "Yesterday a most eloquent and impressive discourse was delivered by ——." The report was founded, not on the fact, but on the advertisement.

It is part of the same system that, should any of us happen, for our sins, to rise in the scale of public notoriety, the strain in which our sayings and doings are elaborated rises accordingly. We no longer act, talk, travel, go to law, or do any thing else, like other men. Our letters swell into "communications;" our attorneys become "legal advisers;" our servants, "domestics;" when we move from home, we are *en route*; and when we stop, it is, as the case may be, to make a "brief" or a "lengthened" *sojourn*. Then, Mr. Editor, our ecclesiastical titles! Is it that we are determined Lord John shall not have the advantage of us? or is it that there is some malicious sceptic in the distance, who doubts, in his folly, whether Monsignores are indeed Right Reverend, or Canons more than ordinarily Reverend? Is it at him that we point these incessant reminders? with him that we keep up this invisible but triumphant controversy? Are these titles so evanescent, or is the public memory so treacherous, that we must fasten them with chains of iron, or jog it by hebdomadal nudges?

The news of the work in which I happen to be writing furnishes a specimen to the purpose which may challenge comparison with any of its numerous predecessors. The recent opening of a Benedictine collegiate church near Hereford, no doubt a very interesting and important occasion, seems to have produced an effect upon our historians of the day amounting to a kind of literary intoxication. It engrosses nearly five columns of the paper, and involves a degree of minuteness in its details of the actions and even motives of eminent and excellent individuals, which would be called personal were it not complimentary, and which nothing but the obviously good intentions of the writer protects from the charge of impertinence. Even so sacred a matter as the reception of the Holy Communion is sought to be invested with a poetic interest, and dealt with as a subject of public remark. The writer proceeds:

"Truly it was a day of joy to the Catholics of England! Never since the days of the so-called Reformation has a mitred Abbot halloved the grounds of an English monastery with his footsteps" [this, surely, is incorrect to begin with; for is not Abbot Burder mitred?], "till Abbot Guéranger graciously condescended to come and witness the reëstablishment of the Order of St. Benedict in this country."

What would St. Benedict himself have said to so very natural an act of fraternal charity being described as a "condescension," and even a "gracious" one? Now, then, for the sequel:

"He came; and why did he come? It was at the earnest solicitation of the members of the Order in this country, and in order that he might prove by his presence the strong attachment subsisting between the members of that body over which he presides," &c.

One is here provokingly reminded of Lord Burleigh's nod, and the elaborate interpretation of its significance.

The morning sermon on the same occasion is thus recorded:

"His lordship, having divested himself (?) of his mitre and cope, proceeded to the front of the arch; and, having given his text, proceeded" [again] "to address the assembled congregation in a sermon of the most thrilling eloquence, and breathing throughout a spirit of the most fervent piety."

After this, one is at a loss to know what is left for the evening preacher, in order that the equilibrium may be duly maintained. But our reporter is equal to the task:

"At the close of Vespers, the Right Rev. Doctor — preached a sermon fraught with eloquence, learning, and research of the most profound character."

Now in all seriousness, Mr. Editor, these things are utterly unworthy of us, unworthy of our press, unworthy of the distinguished persons whom they publicly compromise, unworthy, above all, of our high and most holy religion. It is a style of composition popularly called by a name which refers its origin to the pantry and the servants' hall. We are among the first to deride it in the columns of the *Morning Post* or of the *Court Journal*: yet, if it displease us where duchesses only are the sufferers, what ought we to think of it where Bishops and priests are the victims? True, the exposure is honourable, the infliction benevolent, and the assailants our kind friends. But it is poor comfort that our pillory is a cage of gold, and the missiles with which we are pelted not stones but sugar-plums. This incessant strain of flattery and bombast tends to degrade the loftiest of all subjects to the vulgarest of levels, and to surround the most genuine of causes with an atmosphere of glitter and pretentiousness. To suppose it otherwise than an annoyance to the good and humble men for whose honour it is sincerely, but most erroneously, intended, would be a downright insult to their understandings and a severe reflection upon their sanctity. Intelligent and discriminative praise is a gain to any one; but these stereotyped eulogies and amiable platitudes have no effect but to lower the dignity and impair the office of public criticism.

Your obedient servant,

Sept. 10th.

ONE WHO HAS SUFFERED.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

SIR,—I cannot but observe, to begin with, that our prospects would indeed look extremely gloomy if the fate of the splendid empire of the Danube depended only upon human support, if it was not selected by Providence for the accomplishment of a special mission. But that Austria has a special mission, I am persuaded, not only by her past but also by the present, and more especially by one very singular sign of the times. Our age has a peculiarly diabolical character. The moral as well as the material world seems to gape, and exhibits the influence of the demon. It is an age of lies; not of lies which strive to disguise themselves under the mantle of truth, but of lies which proclaim themselves naked and triumphant to the world. Although in recent times much has been done in Austria which must please the rabble of Europe, both high and low, there is nevertheless no corner of the earth where some calumniator may not be found who is ready on every occasion to vent his wrath on the Austrian government. The ministers may do what they will; they may be liberal and may favour the Jews as much as they like, yet Austria is, and ever will remain, for such men, an object of malignant hatred.

Whence arises this singular phenomenon? It is because the devil smells a rat, and has an inkling of the special destination of the country. Hence the fury of his accomplices against Austria.

You will judge from the foregoing that my picture of the internal affairs of Austria can be by no means a cheering one.

If you should ask me what we are aiming at here, what are really our intentions, I could not give you a satisfactory reply. I doubt, indeed, whether any one is in a position to answer such an inquiry. The acts of the new ministry have, up to the present time, been only a series of blunders. After the disastrous issue of the war, for which they are mainly responsible, every child might have foreseen that all the revolutionary elements would rise to power. But instead of grasping the reins of government with a firm hand, they let them loose, and promised reforms without having a distinct notion of what they were to grant. Then, before any thing had been done towards a new organisation, they demolished what remained of the old, and frequently destroyed the good as well as what was evil and decayed. Every thing was thrown into a provisional state by the removal of officials on all sides, both high and low; by showing an intention of suppressing sometimes one office, sometimes another,—to-day the administration of a province, to-morrow that of a circle, then that of a district,—the act spasmodically following the will. We are still in the same position, and this in such a way as has never happened in any other state, except during a period of revolution. Every official considers himself only provisionally in office. It became, however, soon evident, that it was

an impossibility to carry out this policy of destruction ; it was abandoned ; insecurity of so many livelihoods, the uncertainty as to the immediate future, still remains. No condition is more dangerous for a state than that in which nobody knows what is to become of him.

It is true, constructive efforts have been made, but destructive tendencies have hitherto predominated. These efforts have continually failed. The communal laws were first taken in hand, and confidential persons were appointed to deliberate upon them. Many talkers and much noise came of it. The result was, that the conviction gained ground that the proceedings of government were utterly impracticable. After the experiment of reconstructing from below had, as it was supposed, miscarried, an attempt was made to begin the building at the top. The Reichsrath, or Council of the Empire, was strengthened, and was received, when it met together, with an energetic address from the Emperor. The diet can accomplish much for the good of the empire, but it has already, in consequence of its own measures, been resisted and opposed vigorously by the ministry. A diet has been promised to the Hungarian agitators. If this does not obtain twice as much power as the Reichsrath, the Hungarians will condemn it. But a Reichsrath so constructed would be quite impossible. We are cast from wave to wave without any prospect of a satisfactory settlement ; one half-measure supersedes the other without any definite plan. Like a giddy person, the government yields to every shock.

The Hungarian question throws most light on our situation. The object of the Hungarians is separation from the monarchy. The nobles and the revolutionary party agree in this ; the ignorant masses follow the impulse. Say what they will, the Hungarian agitators will not be satisfied until they have either been put down by the sword, or until the present tie existing between Hungary and Austria is dissolved, and a mere personal union of the crowns substituted. Concessions do not content them, but only encourage fresh demands. The Protestants have found how much may be obtained by obstinacy. I am no enemy of Hungarian nationality, but am compelled to pass the severest judgment on the Hungarian nobles. They vaunt their attachment to the dynasty, but history tells a different tale. They spend their lives in dissipation, frequently with an utter contempt for the commonest heathen morality. What confidence can one have in the public power should it fall into such hands ?

The German element in Austria comprises every thing that in the eyes of history is worthy of a representation. As in Italy, so in Hungary, the war-cry against the Germans has only been artificially created ; we are already far advanced in this. The Hungarian agitators are masters of the situation. Goluchowsky, a Pole to the backbone, is minister of the interior. What may be expected when we consider that the man who supplanted Hübner because he had conferred with Hungarian magnates, has already far outstripped

Hübner in Magyar sympathies? The time may come in Austria when to be of German origin may pass for *levis macula*, and German tendencies for *macula irreparabilis*.

The blame for the present state of affairs is exclusively laid on the mistakes of the former ministry, whilst it is principally owing to more recent blunders. I am not the panegyrist of the former government. It bears the serious responsibility of having for ten years left the empire in a provisional state, and it is answerable for this, even if it could show that it was forced to inactivity. But the former system pursued at least the grand fundamental idea of the unity of the monarchy. Its ablest men looked upon this as the only anchor of hope; and this idea is undoubtedly of vital importance, and has real chances of success. It must, however, be thoroughly understood and clearly defined. Such a clear definition must be the first stone of the giant structure of a new Austria, and henceforth nothing ought to be surrendered of what has been recognised as essential to the unity of the empire. Beyond what is absolutely required for this great end, there is an exceedingly wide field for independence. The foundations having been laid for unity, separate administration, and in some cases even separate legislation, may be liberally conceded to the provinces. This is the course to be pursued. God grant that it be followed at last.

The Concordat has not as yet been attacked; but, I fear, it will not escape. It annoys the Jews and the whole intellectually degenerate mob; and the Jews are in Austria a public power. *Horribile dictu!* We owe this gift principally to Bruck and Goluchowsky. Bruck, the champion of Liberalism, thought that by emancipating the Jews money might be extracted from their pockets for the new loan; but he was terribly mistaken. Goluchowsky, on the other hand, who was hated by all classes of society for his rough despotic manners, was anxious to make himself popular with one class at least. The Jews were a terrible scourge of the country before their emancipation; what will happen now that the monarchy has been thrown open to them for plunder it is impossible to foretell. I cannot doubt but that the end of it will be a great catastrophe. Austria, who hitherto has had no poor peasants, will in certain provinces have more than any other country in the world, and they will some day take their revenge on the Jews and on the government.

It is not unlikely that severe trials are near at hand for Austria. The heaving of the revolution is still on the increase. If it is victorious in Italy, which to all appearance is most probable, the storm will rage against us. Venice we could easily master, but will our hands be free? It is no use deceiving ourselves. The Hungarian movement has long been advanced as far as in 1848; its aim is the same now as then. In spite of every concession, it does not diminish, but increases, and strikes deeper and deeper root. The enemies of Austria know this better than I. If a war with Italy should break out, I am certain that a rising will take place in Hungary.

The chief blame would fall on those who call themselves Hungarian nobles ; but they will meet with their due.

You will consider this a melancholy picture, and our prospects terribly gloomy. *Deus providebit*. I can assure you the turn things have taken in Europe has never surprised me. Hitherto the revolution had begun in the streets. The devil could not help seeing at last that he would never succeed in this way. Whoever has observed the times, their want of character, and inability to learn, which is shown on every occasion, must admit that although the revolution was crushed on the barricades, it was not only not destroyed there, but has been since on the increase. One man, daring and bold and armed with great power, is able to kindle it all over the world. He is the author and the master of our present position.

How will the revolution be quelled? Certainly not through crowned heads, or the coalition of the powers ; there is no prospect of this. What throne is there which does not suffer by the revolution either from within or without? It must be defeated by itself. The people must suffer greatly; their purses must be emptied, their natural rights be curtailed to such a degree that they can scarcely call their breath their own ; they must be stirred up by the most daring attacks on their social freedom, their innermost convictions, and especially their faith. Should God then raise a man upon a great throne in Europe, the world will fall at his feet.

No man loves Austria more sincerely than I do, no man has served her with greater zeal. But to you who look around for a throne that shall stay the revolution by the irresistible union of might and right, and for a nation that shall uphold the cause of Catholic society,—to you I send the warning, that if you trust in Austria, you lean on a broken reed. Two things attract you towards her : you believe that by reviving the institutions of old times she may be able to stand powerful and yet decentralised between the states that are crushed by absolutism and the states that are dissolved by revolution ; and you believe that the Concordat has given her the first place among Catholic nations, and the best foundation of a religious regeneration. Put no reliance on either hope. The Josephine absolutism and the Revolution of 1848 have disabled us politically. We possess neither the notion nor the conditions of a good system of administration ; we have lost both the memory and the substance of self-government, and this is not an age where that loss can be easily repaired. Without that, without constitutional safeguards, it is doubtful whether the Concordat can ever be executed in its integrity, and it is certain that its existence will never be secure.

M. v. L.



Literary Notices.

Development of Christian Architecture in Italy. By W. S. Okely, M.A. (London: Longmans.) This book is the result of a three years' tour in Italy, devoted entirely to the architecture of the country. At first, the number of styles appeared so great that the writer had very slight hopes of classifying them, much less of making his classes correspond with the dates of the buildings. But after having seen and noted a great number of buildings, he found that if he took the ancient basilica as the simplest expression of the style, the different phases of it grew naturally out of this germ by the development of different members of the original type; afterwards, on arranging the buildings according to chronological order, he found that though his various classes often overlapped one another in time, so that one was often contemporaneous with another, yet upon the whole his classification coincided with the chronological development.

The characteristics by which the varieties of Italian architecture are classified are not as palpable as those which so naturally distinguish our Gothic architecture into its great divisions. In Italy they are rather connected with the sections of piers, and such-like parts, than with any striking differences in the arrangement of masses. Yet in Italy, as well as over the Alps, there was the same tendency to suppress the horizontal and to develop the vertical system of ornamentation, as time went on. But in Italy, with some few exceptions, this vertical system never exercised such an influence over the whole mass as it did in the Gothic with which we are more familiar. We do not find the same picturesque multiplicity of parts, or the same contrasts of light and shade, which the profuse use of mouldings and tracery produces in the Northern Gothic. On the other hand, we see large uncut planes, only decorated with mosaics or frescoes; pier-arches of immense span, and too high to leave room for triforium or any adequate clerestory. English architects, says Mr. Okely, may be disappointed with all this, but they have no business to criticise hastily, or to reckon the Italian Gothic as a bad imitation of our own. The men who built those immense structures were artists unrivalled in their day, and it is not to be supposed that the peculiarities which they voluntarily adopted were the results of mere blundering, or inability to imitate the models they had proposed to themselves. They must have been the results of a perception of beauty, of which our architects have not yet acquired the feeling. Their conception of architectural excellence lay in the boldness produced by simplicity of ornament, and the repose resulting from a complete comprehension of the design, as opposed to the mystery which our architects sought to produce by multiplying the parts. It will be worth while for our architects to submit to learn something even from buildings which do not come up to their standard of excellence, and not to consti-

tute themselves the absolute judges of matters of taste which have never yet been reduced to rule.

We heartily agree with these sentiments of Mr. Okely, and rejoice to see that the best English architects are giving proof of the deep impression which the beauties of Italian Gothic have made upon their minds. Mr. Okely's book will do much to advance this movement. With regard to the technical part of his work, we may almost say that he has done for Italian ecclesiastical architecture what Rickman did for that of our own country.

The Tyrolese Patriots of 1809. By the author of "Du Guesclin." (London : Burns and Lambert.) If this little book were not so excellently put together as it is, we should be very glad to recommend it on the ground of the good feeling which shines through even its title. In an age when nationality is turned to unpatriotic uses, it is not unnatural that the Catholic reaction should sometimes also assume an unpatriotic hue, and that we should appear to forget that patriotism is among the Christian virtues. Indeed, we have sometimes heard it seriously argued that, since no theological treatise speaks of this virtue, theology does not recognise it ; but if theology does not argue about the virtue, it presupposes it, and takes it for granted, as appears in the following extract from Cardinal Gerdil, as quoted by Dr. Ward.

"It is just and honourable to prefer the love of God to the love of a creature ; it is unjust and dishonourable to prefer the love of a creature to the love of God. It is just and honourable to preserve one's country when one can ; it is unjust and dishonourable to betray it. Now I say, that the preference of God to creatures is invested with an eternal necessary character of justice and honour ; and on the contrary, that the preference of the creature to God is necessarily and eternally unjust and base ; that the efforts we make to preserve our country also bear this character of justice and honour ; and on the contrary, that treason to our country is eternally and necessarily unjust and base."

The passage is curious, and shows that if the virtue has not been much spoken about, it is not because it has not been recognised. Indeed, patriotism without religion is a thing which it is impossible to conceive. No people have exhibited it more nobly, or under circumstances more trying, than the Tyrolese. They are a primitive people even now, though few are living who can remember the great war of which this is the best English narrative, and though the presence of a large army during several years after 1848, when Tyrol was the citadel of Italy, did much to demoralise the country. Even patriotism is with them a superstition. Near the old castle of Ambras, a mile or two from Innsbruck, the first Tyrolese fell fighting against the armies of the French republic during the revolutionary war. Their graves are in an open space of the pine-forest, a little way up the mountain, overlooking the beautiful valley of the Inn, which was the scene of so many after-conflicts. In that solitary place the country people may still be often seen upon their knees

praying, not for the brave men who fell there, but imploring their intercession, in full confidence that those who died for the independence of their country died with the privilege of martyrdom. The memory of the war of 1809 is still vivid in the hearts of the people. There is a song which the Tyrolese Jäger still loves to sing by the watch-fire at night, and which it is hard for a stranger to hear without emotion: it is the death-song of Hofer, and the chorus repeats his dying prayer: "God bless the Kaiser Franz, and bless the land Tyrol!"

To revert to the subject with which we began this notice.

The superstition of patriotism is not confined to the Tyrolese peasant. In the church of Santa Croce, in the polished city of Florence, there was last June a mass sung for the youths who had fallen in the engagements of Curtatone and Montanara against the Austrians in 1848. The church was ornamented in the usual way with wreaths and inscriptions, one of which ran as follows: "O Brothers, who did seal your political faith with your blood, obtain for us all the virtues necessary to gain the favour of the Almighty in our efforts to achieve the liberation of Italy." The paregyric of these young saints of patriotism was pronounced by the Canon Bruno Bianchi, member of the Cruscan Academy. It was a stirring piece of oratory, intended to prove that patriotism and dying for one's country is a virtue as really recognised in the Scripture as in the works of secular philosophers and moralists; that the barbarous Teutons had no right within the bounds of the noble Latin races; and that the Italian warriors who fell fighting against them thereby not only deserved well of their country, but of God also. "God, the Fountain of Justice, has blessed them, and now surrounds them with His mercy, because they died for justice' sake, and justice is ever the cause of God."

It is no wonder that the orthodox publications of Italy protest against all this exaggeration, especially when it finds its way into church, and makes itself heard during the divine offices. On the other hand, it is no less certain that, by a too exclusive reliance on foreign bayonets, the orthodox party has deeply wounded the spirit of patriotism, and that it will have to suffer from a reaction which it has itself provoked. Nothing can be more fatal than the divorce between Italian religion and patriotism which has been forced on by a fatal chain of circumstances, ever since the reaction set in against the present Pope's first series of reforms.

The reward of their glorious fidelity has been, that so much reliance has been placed upon it that nothing was done to secure or to reward it. No territory of the Austrian dominions has suffered more by the introduction of the modern system of government than Tyrol; nowhere are the complaints more loud or more just. It is important, however, to remember, that a few years before 1809 the Tyrolese were as disaffected as the Belgians. They maintained for a time towards the Emperor Joseph almost as threatening an atti-

tude as afterwards against Bavaria ; and soon after the beginning of this century they sent an energetic protest to Vienna. Their discontent was often loudly expressed during the war. Some wars are carried on by and on behalf of the government, some by the people. All the wars against France until 1809 were affairs of State ; but the war of the Austrians in 1809, inspired by the example of Spain, was a national resistance. The whole army that fought at Aspern was animated with the spirit of the Tyrolese. All the Austrians would have fought like them if the nature of the country had allowed of it. But the government, which did so little for Tyrol, had a misgiving about popular enthusiasm, and was afraid of an indefinite movement which it might be unable to control. They preferred to make terms with the French to making terms with their own people, and were more ready to sacrifice a province than an institution of the empire. Accordingly, from the beginning the Archduke was anxious for peace ; when peace was made, the policy of the cabinet again became master of the popular agitation ; and when, in 1813, Austria threw her sword into the scale against Napoleon, the people had no part in the great enthusiasm of northern Germany, and the army had a very small part in the glories of that campaign. It is wonderful to note how that which hath been is the same thing as that which shall be. In 1805 the Austrians fought and were beaten at Austerlitz ; the Prussians were not ready. But in 1806 the Prussians had their turn, and were beaten at Jena. Then, in 1809, the Austrians were in arms once more, but the Prussians were immovable ; and when all Germany rose in 1813, it was doubtful for months whether Austria would join them. The examples of the great war are more faithfully followed by the Germans than by England.

In case the accomplished author of this book should continue to pursue the subject, we may observe that the book may be still further enriched from several recent publications of great importance, founded on the official documents of the time.

Current Events.

HOME AFFAIRS.

Parliamentary Business.

On 28th August the session of Parliament was brought to a close, and the following prorogation speech was read by the Lord Chancellor:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,—We are commanded by her Majesty to release you from further attendance in Parliament, and at the same time to convey to you her Majesty’s acknowledgments for the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the performance of your important duties during the long and laborious session of Parliament now about to close.

“ Her Majesty commands us to inform you that her relations with foreign Powers are friendly and satisfactory; and her Majesty trusts that there is no danger of any interruption of the general peace of Europe. Events of considerable importance are, indeed, taking place in Italy; but if no foreign Powers interfere therein, and if the Italians are left to settle their own affairs, the tranquillity of other states will remain undisturbed.

“ The proposed conferences on the subject of the cession of Savoy and Nice to France have not yet been held. But her Majesty confidently trusts that in any negotiations that may take place, full and adequate arrangements will be made for securing, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Vienna of 1815, the neutrality and independence of the Swiss confederation. That neutrality and independence were an object to which all the Powers who were parties to the Treaties of Vienna attached great importance, and they are no less important now than then, for the general interests of Europe.

“ Her Majesty commands us to assure you that the atrocities which have been committed upon the Christian population in Syria have inspired her Majesty with the deepest grief and indignation. Her Ma-

jesty has cheerfully concurred with the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Prince Regent of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in entering into an engagement with the Sultan, by which temporary military assistance has been afforded to the Sultan, for the purpose of reëstablishing order in that part of his dominions.

“ We are commanded by her Majesty to inform you that her Majesty greatly regrets that the pacific overtures which by her Majesty’s directions her Envoy in China made to the Imperial Government at Peking, did not lead to any satisfactory result, and it has therefore been necessary that the combined naval and military forces which her Majesty and her ally the Emperor of the French, had sent to the China Seas, should advance towards the northern provinces of China, for the purpose of supporting the first demands of the Allied Powers.

“ Her Majesty, desirous of giving all possible weight to her diplomatic action in this matter, has sent to China, as special ambassador for this service, the Earl of Elgin, who negotiated the Treaty of Tien-tsin, the full and faithful execution of which is demanded from the Emperor of China.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—Her Majesty commands us to convey to you her warm acknowledgments for the liberal supplies which you have granted for the service of the present year, and for the provision which you have made for those defences which are essential for the security of her dockyards and arsenals.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,—Her Majesty commands us to express to you the gratification and pride with which she has witnessed the rapid progress in military efficiency which her Volunteer forces have already made, and which is highly honourable to their spirit and patriotism.

“ Her Majesty has given her cor-

dial consent to the Act for amalgamating her local European forces in India with her forces engaged for general service.

"Her Majesty trusts that the additional freedom which you have given to commerce will lead to fresh development of productive industry.

"Her Majesty has given her ready assent to several measures of great public usefulness.

"The Acts for regulating the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland will, her Majesty trusts, remove some fertile causes of disagreement.

"The Act for amending the law which regulates the discipline of her Majesty's navy has established salutary rules for the administration of justice by courts-martial, and for maintaining good order in the naval service. The Act bearing upon endowed charities will give means for a less expensive administration of the property of charities, and for the speedy and economical settlement of disputes affecting such property; while, by another Act, relief has been afforded to her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, with regard to their charitable endowments.

"Several other Acts have been passed for legal reform, which must lead to the more satisfactory administration of justice.

"Her Majesty has observed with deep satisfaction the spirit of loyalty, of order, and of obedience to the law, which prevails among her subjects, both in the United Kingdom and in her dominions beyond sea; and her Majesty has witnessed with heartfelt pleasure the warm and affectionate reception given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by her North-American subjects.

"You will, on returning to your several counties, have duties to perform scarcely less important than those which have occupied you during the session of Parliament; and her Majesty fervently prays that the blessing of Almighty God may attend your efforts, and guide them to the attainment of the objects of her constant solicitude—the welfare and the happiness of her people."

Before it was well over the session had become a bye-word for the variety of its interminable discussions

and the paucity of its legislative results; and had it not been protracted to a length beyond all ordinary precedent, scarcely any of the measures enumerated in the prorogation speech could have formed a topic of congratulation or remark. Undoubtedly the creation of new laws is not in itself, and of necessity, a good; and the demand on our legislature for "more work and less talk" is, to a great extent, like other popular watch-words, a thoughtless and cuckoo cry. But still, when the epilogue can but "run smooth over the grave of great hopes" which the prologue has excited, and an almost barren session hurries in its last hour through a batch of important enactments, and then hands over to its successor half the business it was itself intended to complete, there is no room any longer to deny the existence of a serious evil, and it becomes necessary to consider the cause from which it springs, and, if possible, to discover a remedy.

Of course, if the position of parties were more clearly defined, and the tone of their leaders higher, one obvious cause of the evil would be removed. It would no longer be possible for the House of Commons to devote itself, night after night, to the discussion of a reform which both sides are more or less pledged to support, and both more or less anxious to avert. Debate would resume its proper function as the means to a decision, instead of a substitute for it, and orators would be more anxious to secure that conviction which is won by brevity and point, than to veil their own legislative cowardice under a network of unmeaning talk. But this is a consummation of which unhappily there are no present signs; and if we are to find a remedy at all, we must seek one not dependent on it.

This condition, at least, is fulfilled in a proposal which has been strongly urged of late by those who regard all unpopular opinions as necessarily crotchets, and all minorities as *ipso facto* wrong. Their notion is simply to give the majority in all cases an absolute power of closing the discussion, and to withdraw, or at all events greatly abridge, those opportunities which the practice of the House of

Commons now affords for the introduction of casual topics, especially on the motion for adjournment. No one would attempt to deny that the present latitude is open to abuse, and is not infrequently abused. But the rights of minorities are too important to be surrendered for such a cause. Their recognition is not merely a guarantee of liberty; in a sense, it is liberty itself; and we could scarcely take a surer step in the direction of despotic government than by subjecting the expression of political opinion to the control of numerical majorities. That abundance of the heart to which the mouth gives utterance has always been the marvel of sophists; and it is but natural that as speech becomes more and more dissociated from conviction in the minds of public men, they should chafe under the pertinacity of an opposition which seems to them to involve little more than a war of empty words. Politicians who have no higher aim than to represent, day by day, the phases of a superficial popular opinion, would of course find no embarrassment in restrictions which could never apply to themselves; but the maintenance of all institutions or usages which protect the perfect freedom of political discussion, is the interest of every man who believes that it may ever be a duty to force new truths on unwilling ears, or to defend old ones against heavy odds.

At the recent meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Lord Brougham gave prominence to a suggestion which is not open to these objections. "At present," he said, "there are in the Commons eighteen questions which must be put, besides all those in committee, before a bill can pass and be sent to the Lords; and upon each question a debate of any length, on any matter connected, or supposed to be connected, with the subject, may be raised. Is it not plain that the whole matter might be as thoroughly discussed as is desirable upon much fewer questions on the three readings and on the vote to pass, and perhaps on the leave to bring in?" The particular effect of multiplying questions is not to increase the aggregate amount of dis-

ussion, but to lengthen the period over which it extends; and this was a very important safeguard in times when communication between different districts was comparatively slow, and public opinion, therefore, difficult to ascertain. But the newspaper, the railway, and the electric telegraph, now combine to make the proceedings of Parliament almost instantaneously known, in all their fullness, throughout the country; and the same agencies which thus supply the data for public opinion serve also to hasten its formation, and reflect its judgment on the House of Commons with increased rapidity, as well as with greater exactness and force. The circumstances, therefore, which formerly rendered it desirable that the process of legislation should be a slow one have, to a large extent, ceased to exist; and there seems to be no sufficient reason why we should not dispense with formalities which served their end well enough while it needed their service, but which have no present aptitude for fulfilling their traditional purpose, and incidentally involve us in serious inconvenience.

But the true root of the evil lies deeper than the region of legislative forms. It is that tendency which Parliament shares in common with almost all central authorities to extend its cognisance to affairs which are properly amenable to inferior or local jurisdiction only. More and more each session, the business of the House of Commons progresses towards an absorption of every cause which can interest or concern the subject. It has recently taken up into itself the detailed regulation of Indian affairs, and at home its shadow seems gradually lengthening over our whole social existence. From the canons of the turf and the minutiae of artistic study, to the construction of a railway or the improvement of a pier, there is scarcely a question which is not now in danger, at some stage or other, of having to undergo parliamentary manipulation. The necessary result is seen in a twofold inefficiency,—a capricious and disappointing mismanagement of the questions with which the supreme legislature is not adapted to deal, and a slovenly treatment, if not a

simple neglect, of those which properly belong to it.

And this centralising system is not only a direct waste of time and energy, but it reacts very injuriously on the House of Commons itself, and involves a further waste by its indirect consequences. For while Parliament consents to transact mere trivial or local business, it is only natural that it should be inundated by the agents of mere trivial or local interests; and these men, quite incapable as politicians, and possessing no consideration except among their own constituents, are eager to make speeches which they fancy will distinguish them at home, and create a high impression both of their energy and parliamentary position. Thus the number of speakers is increased without any adequate motive, while the character of the debates is proportionately deteriorated; and the House of Commons finds that it has only taken petty business out of the hands of its proper managers, in order to surrender to them a share, greater or less according to circumstances, in the discussion and determination of national interests.

The Volunteers.

The Volunteer reviews held by the Queen in Hyde Park and at Edinburgh, and the meeting of the National Rifle Association on Wimbledon Common, struck a chord which has been vibrating through the country during the two months of the recess. Lord Derby led the way by gathering together 11,000 of the Lancashire Volunteers for a review at Knowsley; and inspections, bivouacs, sham-fights, and prize shooting matches have since followed one another in rapid succession in most of the more important counties. The proficiency in drill and rifle practice displayed on these occasions seems to have far surpassed the expectation of military men, though, in fact, it was only a natural result of the hard and steady labour which the Volunteers have, as a body, undergone, brought to bear on the intelligence of the classes from whom they are mainly drawn. No reasonable person ever doubted that average Englishmen of the up-

per and middle classes were capable of being soon converted into the rank and file of as fine an army as any the world can show. But though we might all become good soldiers without any serious difficulty, the various gatherings of Volunteers have shown that it is quite another thing to become good officers, in the absence of that training which is afforded in the regular army by the traditional routine of the camp and barrack. Here, from a military point of view, is the great desideratum of the Volunteer service. The Government have all along done something to supply the want, by temporarily attaching any Volunteer officer who might desire it to a regiment of the line, or embodied militia, or to the artillery at Woolwich. But few officers comparatively have availed themselves of the arrangement, partly, perhaps, because they could not do so without neglecting their necessary avocations, and partly because they are not quite sensible enough of their own military shortcomings. The appointment of adjutants, paid by the Government, both to large corps and to administrative brigades and battalions, is a further provision, and a very important one, in the same direction. But it can only operate slowly; and a considerable time must yet, in all probability, elapse before we shall be able to feel the same confidence in the efficiency of the Volunteer officers as we can now do in that of their men.

Meanwhile there is a rock ahead which it will require foresight and care to avoid. It is easier to get large sums together once, for the starting of an enterprise, than to obtain small ones, year by year, for its support; and our Volunteers will best consult the interests they have at heart, by practising from the commencement a rigid economy in all their financial arrangements. There may be particular exceptions to the rule; but, as a rule, all luxuries, appropriate or inappropriate,—costly uniforms, bands, colours, the whole paraphernalia of holiday soldiering, are things which a Volunteer corps should avoid. They have in themselves but a small attraction, and add nothing to the efficiency of the corps; and if they do not result in

actual pecuniary embarrassment, at all events they hinder what is now by far the most important part of the movement—its extension to the class of artisans. It is necessary not to recruit our Volunteer force from the ranks which provide the material of the regular army and militia; but, short of this, its foundation cannot be too broadly laid. For it has a political as well as a military significance. In idea, it is not one class armed against another, but the nation armed against its foes; and if it is true to this idea, it must in practice draw the different ranks of our society together, and unite them in the interchange of mutual sympathies, and in the prosecution of a common aim.

The Prince of Wales in Canada.

On the 20th September, at Hamilton, the Prince of Wales bade farewell to the Canadians, and proceeded, by Windsor and Detroit, on his visit to the United States. With the exception of some disreputable scenes at Kingston, where Orange loyalty chose rather to brawl round the picture of an extinct sovereign than to receive a visit from the heir and representative of the reigning one, and at Toronto, where the same delicate sentiment was displayed in an attempt to drag the Prince by main force under an Orange arch, his progress has been an uninterrupted succession of enthusiastic welcome on the one side and graceful recognition on the other. The acts of receiving and answering congratulatory addresses, reviewing troops, visiting institutions, shooting down rapids, whirling round ball-rooms, laying first stones, and clenching last rivets, are not exactly the material of which history is made; but in this case they have an exceptional interest, as the indication of something deeper than themselves; and it is satisfactory to notice the contrast in which a foreign

writer has placed them with the incidents of recent imperial progresses through the possessions of a neighbouring power.

Travelling in a colony which enjoys the fullest measure of self-government, the Prince of Wales has not come in contact with the agents of a central bureaucracy, whose official duty is to promote demonstrations of loyalty, and whose chance of promotion depends on their success in the attempt. In every case the welcome given him has been spontaneous; and if those who organised it have done so in anticipation of any reward, it must necessarily be a reward at the hands, not of the Home Government, but of their own countrymen, who alone possess the power of giving it. Nor is there less to gratify us in the nature of the homage which our Canadian fellow-subjects have rendered to the Prince. They have not parodied the language of devotion in his honour, or told him that the seasons are dependent on his will. But they have received him as men who know that the royalty they welcome is based on the recognition, not the abdication, of their rights, and who feel that the rule under which they live is compatible with their own self-respect. The composition of the Canadian people is a sufficient proof that ours is not the only race which is capable of appreciating the supremacy of law, and reconciling it with the enjoyment of liberty; and while the events of the Prince's tour furnish a gratifying evidence of the good feeling which pervades the colony with respect to the mother-country, they may also inspire a confidence that in future years, when the tie which now unites us is severed, it will be apparent on both sides that the period of English rule in Canada has been employed in training a great and free people, anxious to obtain our alliance and not unworthy to receive it.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Italy; and the Pontifical States.

While Sicily was being lost to the Neapolitan Bourbons, disorder was invading the continental dominions of the King of Naples. When Garibaldi first landed at Marsala, the King consulted the Count de Chambord, the head of his family, and the Emperor Napoleon III. on the course that he ought to take. The former advised him to make no concessions while Catiline was at the gate, but to mount his horse and lead his army against Garibaldi; the latter advised him to grant a constitution. But his ministers were only half faithful to him, or else mere empirics, quite incapable of carrying out the machinery of their magnificent promises, and therefore obliged to substitute fine words and rhetorical proclamations for action, while they yielded to every fresh demand of the *Italianissimi*. The only men who had their wits about them were the members of the Committee of Union, who were well organised and up to their work.

In Calabria, where Garibaldi purposed to land, all the upper classes were attached to his cause; while the lower classes, though not unfaithful to their king, took advantage of the confusion, which his ministers had introduced, to refuse the payment of any taxes whatever. The police were abolished, and the national guard substituted; but they were unorganised and unarmed; and, in consequence, the roads were infested with robbers, and nothing but confusion prevailed in the towns.

During the night of the 18th of August, Garibaldi landed in Calabria; after his troops had disembarked, his vessels were fired upon by the Neapolitan cruisers. On the 21st he attacked Reggio. The Neapolitan forces shut themselves up in the citadel, and the next day they capitulated. The royal intendant of Potenza proclaimed the fall of the Bourbons, made himself dictator of the province of Basilicata, and called on the inhabitants to arm. The Neapolitan troops were betrayed

either by the treachery of their generals—one of whom, however, Briganti, they shot for his pains—or by their own cowardice, and either deserted to the enemy or dispersed. The approach of Garibaldi seemed to act like a chemical solvent on the troops; they disbanded without a blow being struck. At Naples the ministry became feebler every day, and though the state of siege had been proclaimed, the Unionist Committee printed and published whatever they chose; indeed, their acts seemed to be almost as official as those of the ministers. Every body did as he chose, and let others do the same. The fleet let Garibaldi's ships pass; the national guard let the liberals alone; the army did not interfere with the national guard, nor the ministers with the army, nor the king with the ministers. If Naples was quiet, it was only because the army feared the people, and the people the army; it was only the equilibrium of terror.

At this time some Piedmontese Bersaglieri, who were, of course, accidentally at Naples, were beaten by the royal troops, and forced to reëmbark. Villamarina, the Piedmontese ambassador, demanded compensation; the king granted whatever was required. The Count of Syracuse, one of the king's uncles,—his other uncle, Aquila, had already played a traitor's part, and was in Paris,—wrote to him to advise him to follow the example of the Duchess of Parma, to release his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to throw himself into the arms of Piedmont. After this the Count retired to Turin. The king, though surrounded with royal state, and with ambassadors from all the powers accredited to him, saw his crown played for by four competitors, just as if he was non-existent. Garibaldi already called himself Dictator of the Two Sicilies; Victor Emmanuel was styled King of Italy; Prince Murat modestly put forward his claim; and Mazzini cried out to the Italians to remember him and his party,—“the conscience of Italy,” as he called

himself, that conscience which had doomed the Austrian occupation, and the Papal and Neapolitan governments, to perdition.

In the beginning of September, the insurrection had reached to the Terra de Lavoro, north of Naples; the king was concentrating the troops that remained faithful to him at three points, Naples, Salerno, and Gaeta. But Garibaldi knew well the value of these demonstrations. He wrote to his supporters in Naples that they might expect him by the 7th or 8th of the month. On the 6th he was at Eboli, near Salerno, when the king, finding that all his officers, and even his family, were deserting him, concentrated what troops remained faithful to him around Capua, behind the Volturno, and retired on board a Spanish vessel to Gaeta. Most of the ambassadors followed him. His fleet, which had offered to escort him to Gaeta, with the exception of one vessel, abandoned him.

On the 8th, Garibaldi, almost alone, entered Naples, and was received with extraordinary demonstrations.

The entrance of Garibaldi into Naples was the concerted signal for a movement of far deeper significance. When the Emperor of the French was making his tour, he received at Chambéry, Aug 28, the visit of MM. Farini and Cialdini, who were sent to compliment him on the part of the king of Sardinia. Nobody supposed that this was all; people talked of the interview of Cavour with the Emperor at Plombières in 1858, followed by the war of Italy; of the interview of Pepoli with Napoleon at Paris, followed by the breach of the conditions of Villafranca, and the annexation of the Romagna, Tuscany, Parma, and Modena to Piedmont. They knew that this present interview meant something. The patriots of Turin openly declared that the very day that Garibaldi entered Naples, the Marches and Umbria would be invaded by the Piedmontese. A letter from Rome in the *Ami de la Religion*, Aug. 31, proves that the same expectation reigned there. In spite of all that the government of Turin had done to prevent the invasion of the States by volunteers from Genoa or from the

Tuscan frontier, it was suspected at Rome that "the revolutionists only waited for the triumph of Garibaldi at Naples to invade the States; and that this would be done at several points at once, so as to render it impossible for the little army of the Pope to protect all the frontiers at once."

Lamoricière made the dispositions he thought best to hold in check the invasion which he expected. He divided his little army into detachments for garrison duty, and left them in the several strong points, while he supervised the whole, and directed very severe measures to be at once taken in case of any demonstration. As soon, however, as the cue was given by Garibaldi entering Naples, Cavour sent an ultimatum, dated Sept. 7, to Cardinal Antonelli, in which he observed, that "the collecting bodies not composed, like the armies of all civilised governments, of the citizens of the country, but of men of different languages, nationalities, and religions, is a deep offence to the public conscience of Italy and Europe. Their necessary want of discipline, the inconsiderate conduct of their leaders, the provocations which they parade in their proclamations, produce a most dangerous fermentation;" for these and other reasons "the royal troops *have* received orders to prevent these mercenaries from using violence to repress any expression of sentiment in the Marches and in Umbria." After this Cavour invites Cardinal Antonelli immediately to disarm and dissolve these bodies.

This was an extraordinary letter; it was no real ultimatum, for it did not profess to make any conditions: the troops *had* received the order, and indeed they were over the frontiers before Cardinal Antonelli had read the communication. For before the memorandum was delivered by M. Minerva at Rome, Fanti with 25,000 men had passed the frontiers of Umbria, and Cialdini with as many invaded the Marches, in the different towns of which revolutionary demonstrations had been made, and promptly checked by the Papal troops. This was the preconcerted pretext for the invasion. General Fanti had written to Lamoricière on

the 7th that he had orders to occupy the Marches and Umbria in case the Papal troops "used violence to repress any demonstration in the national sense."

Considering, however, the Papal general received the following letter from the French ambassador at Rome, dated on the same day, Sept. 7:—"I inform you by the Emperor's orders that the Piedmontese will not enter the Roman States, and that 20,000 French are about to occupy the different places of those States. Make, then, all your dispositions against Garibaldi.—Le Duc de Gramont:"—it is not very surprising that he did not attend to the advice of Fanti, or disquiet himself about his threats. But the invasion had been planned long before, had been approved by Napoleon at Chambéry, and had been explained by the following proclamation of Victor Emmanuel to his troops.

"You are about to enter the Marches and Umbria, in order to establish civil order in the towns now desolated by misrule, and to give to the people the liberty of expressing their own wishes. You will not fight against the armies of any of the Powers, but will free those unhappy Italian provinces from the bands of foreign adventurers which infest them. You do not go to revenge injuries done to me and to Italy, but to prevent the popular hatred from unloosing itself against the oppressors of the country.

"By your example you will teach the people forgiveness of offences, and Christian tolerance to the man who compared the love of the Christian fatherland to Islamism.

"At peace with all the great Powers, and holding myself aloof from any provocation, I intend to rid Central Italy of one continual cause of trouble and discord. I intend to respect the seat of the chief of the Church, to whom I am always ready to give, in accordance with the allied and friendly Powers, all the guarantees of independence and security which his misguided advisers have in vain hoped to attain for him from the fanaticism of the wicked sect which conspires against my authority and against the liberties of the nation.

"Soldiers, I am accused of ambi-

tion. Yes, I have one ambition, and it is to reëstablish the principles of moral order in Italy, and to preserve Europe from the continual dangers of revolution and war."

At the same time the government addressed a memorandum to its diplomatic agents, explaining its reasons for entering the Roman States. It was dated Sept. 12.

The peace of Villafranca, says Cavour, assured to the Italians the right of disposing of their own fate, and so at once settled the destinies of much of Northern Italy. But it left Venetia, most of the Roman States, and Naples, untouched. Venetia, as long as it continues in its present state, will ever prevent a settled peace; yet as Europe cannot just now allow a great war, the Venetian question must be postponed. As for Naples, the king, who had for a whole year resisted the friendly advice of Piedmont, and of France and England, has succumbed to a revolution which is not less legitimate than those of the Romagna and the Duchies. As soon as Sicily and Naples are incorporated, like them, monarchical government will have cured its sore place, and revolutionists will no longer have a field for their anarchical action.

The Roman government has not only refused all coöperation with the unitarian movement of Italy, but has also made use of its spiritual power to oppose it. Especially it has appealed to the fanaticism of certain unenlightened classes of society to raise an army of strangers; for it is the only government reduced to maintain its authority by "foreign mercenaries, blinded by fanaticism or enticed by the bait of promises which could not be fulfilled, except by throwing whole provinces into distress."

This provokes great indignation in Italy, and much sympathy with the people of Umbria and the Marches. The Piedmontese government has, however, hitherto prevented any disorganised attempt to liberate them. But now the increasing irritation could only be restrained by force, and the revolution triumphant at Naples, could no longer be stopped by the barrier of the Roman States. Volunteers by thousands would flock

to Umbria and the Marches, and if the Piedmontese government remained passive it would place itself in direct opposition with the nation, and the generous outburst would degenerate into anarchy; the revolution would assume a new character, and the people would probably renew the excesses of the first French Revolution.

Therefore, to invade the Roman States is the king's duty to Italy, which has intrusted him with the task of directing the movement, and to Europe, which expects him to prevent it from degenerating into anarchy and disorder. To fulfil this double duty, he at once granted the prayer of the deputations from Umbria and the Marches, and at the same time sent the ultimatum to Rome; on the refusal of Rome to comply, the royal troops crossed the Papal frontiers. The memorandum concludes:

"The royal troops will scrupulously respect Rome and the territory which surrounds it; they would lend their support, should it ever be wanted, to preserve the residence of the Holy Father against any attack or menace, for the government of the king will always know how to conciliate the great interests of Italy with the respect due to the august Chief of Religion, to whom the country is sincerely attached.

"In acting thus it has the conviction of not hurting the feelings of enlightened Catholics who do not confound the temporal power, with which the Court of Rome has been invested during a period of its history, with the spiritual power, which is the eternal and immovable basis of his religious authority.

"But our hopes go still farther. We have confidence that the spectacle of the unanimity of the patriotic sentiments which now burst forth throughout the whole of Italy, will remind the Sovereign Pontiff that he was some years ago the sublime inspirer of this great national movement. The veil which counsellors, animated by mundane interests, had placed over his eyes will fall, and then, recognising that the regeneration of Italy is a decree of Providence, he will become once more the father of the Italians, as he has never ceased

to be the august and venerable Father of all the faithful."

It is instructive to compare the brutality of the language of the proclamation of the king—language which even the *Times* calls "bitter and acrimonious," more so than even befits a declaration of war—with the smooth hypocrisy of the memorandum. It had been long before agreed, that as soon as Naples had fallen the Roman States should be invaded; for it was expected that when Naples had fallen the king would have no other place to make a last stand. So when that event occurred the Piedmontese hurried over the Papal frontier, to protect the Holy Father from an incursion of the Garibaldians, from whom, without their interference, he would have been effectually protected by the Neapolitan troops behind the Volturno. But as the tardy valour of the King of Naples spoiled the verisimilitude of this excuse for the lawless invasion of the Papal States, another excuse was quickly devised. Garibaldi and Cavour quarrelled; Victor Emmanuel was beginning to find his general to be no longer a subordinate or a subject, but a competitor. He was daily gaining the influence that Piedmont was losing; and he was deserting the monarchical party and allying himself with the Mazzinians. Abandoning all prudent councils, he declared that he would never allow the Two Sicilies to be united to the kingdom of Northern Italy till he could proclaim the unity of all Italy from the Capitol of Rome. He would immediately attack Rome in spite of its being occupied by the French, and would then lead his victorious bands against Venice, before he would allow the annexation to take place. The drivelling folly of this bluster proves that it could never have been meant seriously. But it did well enough to make believe that the liberal cause in Italy was running an immense risk, and that self-preservation entitled Victor Emmanuel to take steps which no other pretext could for a moment excuse. So the farce of Garibaldi's difference with Cavour, and of his republican leanings, was sedulously kept up, in order to show how necessary it was that a settled authority should interpose between

the Dictator of Naples, and Rome and Venice, which he coveted.

The French government was not behind the Piedmontese in acting its part in this miserable comedy. The *Moniteur* of September 14 announced the withdrawal of the French ambassador from Turin. But no one supposed that this meant that Napoleon seriously denounced, or even disavowed, the conduct of the poacher for whom he had so effectually watched. It was simply a little dust thrown at the eyes of Europe, not with the expectation of duping us, but simply to keep up the forms of decency, and to keep open a back-door for retreat, if it should ever be his interest to change his policy towards Piedmont and Italy. Moreover, the Emperor sent back General Goyon to his post at Rome, from which he had been removed a short time before; this, which seemed to promise an active intervention in favour of the Pope, was only, indeed, intended to deceive the Roman government still more fatally, in making them rely on French intervention.

While diplomacy was thus amusing itself, Fanti in Umbria and Cialdini in the Marches were gaining a series of easy triumphs over the little garrisons which Lamoricière had left in the mouldering fortresses of the various towns. At Perugia General Schmitt and 1600 soldiers were taken prisoners; at Spoleto a portion of the Irish brigade under Major O'Reilly had to capitulate, after such resistance as circumstances permitted.

By the 18th Cialdini had taken all the towns up to Ancona, which he and Fanti nearly invested, and was in a strong position at Castelfidardo. Lamoricière, with 5000 men, was marching towards Ancona, when he found himself in front of Cialdini's army of 25,000 or 30,000. There was nothing to be done but to capitulate, or to cut his way through. He decided on the latter course, and ordered General Pimodan to lead the attack. The troops of Pimodan were the Franco-Belgic brigade, some Swiss, and some Italian regiments. The first did their duty nobly, lost 101 killed, and their brave general; the second did nothing; the Italians turned traitors, and fired on their comrades. Lamoricière, seeing that

nothing could be done with such an army, decided on making a rush for Ancona, and succeeded in reaching it, with about twenty horsemen, in order to conduct its defence. The rest of his army either made for Loreto, where it capitulated the next day, or dispersed among the mountains.

The garrison of Ancona consisted of about 8000 men; but the town was invested by the united forces of Cialdini and Fanti by land, and by the united Neapolitan and Piedmontese fleet, under Admiral Persano, by sea (for Garibaldi had given the Neapolitan fleet to the Piedmontese admiral on his arrival in Naples on the 8th, and it was immediately taken round to Ancona). The Papal general did all that could be expected, but was obliged to capitulate on the 28th. Thus melted away this Papal army, which was first suggested by the Congress of Paris in 1856, and realised chiefly by the energy of Mgr. Merode, at the cost of 7,000,000 scudi to the Roman coffers. Cialdini, in his despatch about the affair of Castelfidardo, qualified the bravery of the French Papal troops as fury and fanaticism, and the conduct of Lamoricière as cowardly. From the first, Cavour gave the cue for the tone of all the Sardinian literature of the war; it was to be ironical and contemptuous; to raise the laugh against the vanquished, and to cover the victims of the duplicity of Napoleon and Cavour with ridicule. Perhaps this mockery has had the effect of making others unduly magnify the exploits of the Papal troops. General Fanti's detailed report of the campaign was published in the *Times* of October 20, and gives full credit to the valour of the Papal soldiers.

In this report there is no mention of the Sardinian occupation of Viterbo, Civita Castellana, and the other towns which General de Noue had been authorised to guarantee to the Pope. The fact is, that they were seized, not by the Sardinian regulars, but by the free corps under Masi; who had, however, to restore them to the occupation of the French after about a fortnight, when the French garrison of the Roman States had been raised to upwards of 20,000 men. The *Giornale di Roma* declares that the restoration of the Papal

functionaries was received with enthusiasm; but a correspondent of the *Weekly Register* (October 20) confirms the account given in the *Times* that it was effected amidst the energetic protests of the population, many of whom emigrated, while many of the rest signed petitions to Victor Emmanuel and to Napoleon III. to save them from what they considered the misfortune.

All these events very nearly determined the Holy Father to leave Rome. He had been repeatedly urged to do so by Lamoricière; and now the violence of the Sardinians and the hypocrisy of the French seemed almost a clear call to free himself, while yet he might, from their thralldom. A well-informed contemporary, bitterly hostile to the Papal government, gives the following account of the conduct of M. de Gramont during this crisis. "On the news of the invasion of the Papal States, the French ambassador flew to the Vatican. There he made such spontaneous and distinct asseverations of his sovereign's determination actively to interfere by force of arms in the Pope's behalf," that Cardinal Antonelli's shrewd scepticism was at length shaken. "It was announced that the French Emperor, indignant at the outrage committed by Piedmont, was prepared to oppose it by force of arms; that already a complete rupture between the former allies had been publicly declared, and that a large French army was actually despatched for Rome, thence to operate against the invaders." This was not merely whispered into the Pope's ear, "it was bruted about with an ostentatious and immoderate publicity." When the hollowness of all this appeared, and the Pope called on M. de Gramont for a categorical declaration of the intentions of France, the ambassador was perplexed, and had to beg the Pope to stay his departure till his secretary could confer with the Emperor. M. de Cadore returned with a reinforcement of 10,000 men to General Goyon, and these have reoccupied Viterbo, Orvieto, and some other revolted towns. And the fact that the Pope has not left Rome, but has only for a time (?) withdrawn his nuncio from Paris, leaves room to suspect that

the Emperor has still found means of getting his assurances believed, that he means to continue the occupation of the territory which is now in his hands.

Sept. 18. Cardinal Antonelli addressed a protest to the foreign representatives at Rome, demanding the assistance of their sovereigns to defend the Roman States against the usurpations of the Piedmontese, and declaring that "the principles of order, justice, and morality, which all princes should defend for their own interests, give him confidence that they will set bounds to the spirit of usurpation, which tramples on all law, and employs arms to excite disorders in foreign states, in order to consummate the spoliation of the legitimate authority."

Ten days later, Sept. 28th, the Holy Father pronounced an allocution, in which, after a sketch of the beginning of spoliation in consequence of the French war last year, he defends his use of foreign troops. None, he says, can refuse to a legitimate government the right of enlisting foreigners, especially to the common Father of the faithful, who cannot decline to receive into his ranks those who wish to defend the Church. The concourse of foreign Catholics is chiefly due to the assailants of the Roman temporal power; the whole Catholic world was indignant at the aggression, and the movement which produced the enrolment of so many soldiers was completely voluntary. These soldiers are not mercenaries; indeed, many of them, both Italians and others, had determined to serve entirely without pay; and the false accusations of their barbarity are entirely unproved.

The Papal government had no suspicion of invasion, since it had received the assurance that the Piedmontese troops were approaching, not as invaders, but to protect its territory from disorderly bands. General Lamoricière was of the same opinion, and therefore, when he found he had to measure his army against the army of Piedmont, instead of against free corps, he had no other course open to him than the one he took. The Pope then acknowledges the bravery of his troops, and ex-

presses his deep sympathy with those who had suffered.

The Holy Father energetically protests against the pretence of Victor Emmanuel, that his troops enter the Roman States "to reëstablish the principles of moral order;" on the contrary, they make war on the Church, imprison its ministers, drive the religious communities from their monasteries, and seize the property of the clergy. They found public schools of every false doctrine, destroy virtue, and turn the mysteries of religion into ridicule in their immodest theatres.

Therefore the Pope declared "all these acts null and of no effect," and claimed, "in the most urgent manner, the integrity of that temporal power which belongs to the Roman Church." He bitterly deplored that he was deprived of foreign assistance, in spite of "the reiterated declarations of one of the most powerful princes of Europe;" and declared that "the Sovereign Pontiff is reduced to the most painful embarrassment for the affairs of the Church, and cannot provide for it, since the principal road of communication with the different parts of the world is closed." He is therefore reduced "to the painful necessity of thinking, even in spite of himself, of adopting opportune resolutions to save his dignity."

He then deplores the "disastrous and pernicious principle of non-intervention, proclaimed by some governments and tolerated by others, even in the extreme cases of aggression of one state on another: thus it secures impunity and license for the illegal invasion and spoliation of the rights, properties, and domains of others." And yet the Piedmontese are allowed with impunity to violate the principle; for their troops aid insurgent populations to expel their legitimate princes, and so "foreign intervention is only permitted in order to excite and favour rebellion."

The present, he says, is a question of the *principle* of rebellion, and if it is once affirmed, there is henceforth no security for any legitimate right, and the breach is opened to communism. It is also a question of the violation of solemn conventions which guarantee the integrity and indepen-

dence of the Papal and other European States; and it is a question of the destruction of a power which has been providentially employed as the security for the full liberty of the Pope in the exercise of his apostolic ministry, and which has kept him from being subject to the influence of any foreign power.

Hence the Pope's cause is intimately connected with that of all sovereigns, who will therefore doubtless agree to protect him against "the parricidal armies of a degenerate son."

The Holy Father concludes with the prayer that God would put to flight those who attack him, and humble and crush all the enemies of His Church; and that the hearts of prevaricators may be changed by the Almighty power of His grace.

The necessity of Piedmont occupying Umbria and the Marches, in order to defend the Pope and the French in Rome from the attacks of the triumphant Garibaldians, was as prematurely as it was hypocritically determined. On the 19th and 20th of September, the Neapolitans attacked Garibaldi's men at Capua, and gave a good account of them. The correspondents of the papers described the panic and confusion of the free corps, especially the Sicilians, as ridiculous; and if the Neapolitans had but known how to profit by the occasion, they might have marched quietly to Naples. But they lost the opportunity, and on the 1st of October Garibaldi, assisted by 1500 Sardinian regulars, managed, after two days' fighting, to retrieve his damaged reputation in the battle of the Volturno. Nevertheless, the King of Naples still holds out at Gaeta, and the European Powers have nearly unanimously refused to recognise the blockade of that port, as proclaimed by the Piedmontese admiral.

From the time that Garibaldi entered Naples, his political ideas have seemed to be bordering on sheer lunacy. There was a ministerial crisis every second day, and the republican and Piedmontese parties enjoyed a see-saw of power. The apparent causes were the hostility of Garibaldi to Cavour and Napoleon for their transaction in the matter of

Savoy and Nice, and his personal friendship for Bertani, Crispi, Saffi, and other leaders of the Republican section. It was noticed, however, that these changes of policy never for a moment disarranged the military combinations that had been agreed upon beforehand between Garibaldi and the Piedmontese generals, and that the anarchy which prevailed at Naples in consequence of the total disorganisation of the government only served to present Victor Emmanuel to Italy and to Europe as the visible restorer of order. We suppose that the anti-Piedmontese attitude of Garibaldi was more or less a pretence. It was an attempt to enable Victor Emmanuel to play the same game in Italy as Napoleon III. had played in France in 1848. The antecedents of Napoleon III. were not such as to recommend him to the clergy of France; yet they hailed him as their defender against red-republicanism. The man who profited by that strange combination may have recommended his royal ally to bring about a similar one; and Victor Emmanuel may have supposed that the triumph of Garibaldi as a Mazzinian leader would have struck such terror into every lover of order in Italy, that even the clergy would have hailed the Piedmontese king as a deliverer. This design has not succeeded, and its failure leaves Victor Emmanuel, in the eyes of the clergy, guilty of the excesses of Garibaldi and his Mazzinian friends, as well as of his own.

On the 1st of October Victor Emmanuel set out to visit his new plunder; but we have had no accounts of the enthusiasm which marked his progress. On the 2d the Sardinian Chambers opened to discuss the Bill authorising the King's Government "to accept and to establish by royal decrees the annexation of all those provinces of Central and Southern Italy which freely, by direct and universal suffrage, may express the will of the people to be an integral part of our constitutional monarchy."

The message with which Cavour opened the session was remarkable; among many important matters, it stated that affairs in Southern Italy must be managed as they were in the Duchies. "Woe be to us, if

those people were long to continue in the uncertainty of a provisional rule. Disturbance and anarchy, which would soon break out, would disgrace the common country. The great national movement would plunge both the newly-enfranchised provinces and those that have been free for a year into extreme danger."

The form of suffrage will be the same as it was in Æmilia and Tuscany. The people will be asked to vote on annexation to Piedmont, yes or no; but no conditional vote will be accepted. To accept annexation subject to any special condition is to give the new provinces power to impose their will upon the old, and to fetter the future organisation of the nation.

The government are neither federalists nor centralisers; but they would prefer either system to one in which the provinces, though joined under the same sceptre, should, in the most important legislative matters, possess a power independent of Parliament and the nation.

Cavour then alluded to Garibaldi's wish to delay the annexation of the Two Sicilies. For this, he says, there can be only one motive, namely, to avail himself of the revolution to accomplish the liberation of Italy. This is a deplorable error. When the opportunity of constituting a strong state of 22,000,000 Italians is given, it is time to begin the work of internal organisation; otherwise Europe will believe that revolution is not a means but an end, and public opinion will turn against the Italians.

Garibaldi might have had reason, as long as the Two Sicilies were separated from Piedmont by the Marches and Umbria; but now, to make revolution permanent at Naples or Palermo will ensure the departure of power "from the glorious hands of him who wrote on his standard, 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel,' to those of men who substitute the dark and mystic symbol of sectarianism, 'God and the people.'"

The other question which parliament had to decide was, whether it had confidence in the ministers. The debate, which closed October 11, ended by the Bill passing by a majority of 299 against 6. During

the course of it, sundry indications escaped the speakers of their ideas respecting the part which Piedmontese policy would allow the Church to have in the new kingdom of Italy. "It is desirable," said one, "that the Pope should remain in Italy, which would only reach her height of power and influence when means could be found for letting the King and High-Priest of Italy live together in amity at Rome; the Capitol vieing with the Vatican in furthering the cause of true religion, and true civilisation and freedom." Cavour summed up the discussion, and towards the conclusion of his speech avowed that he looked forward to Rome's being the future capital of the kingdom; it would become so, not by the sword alone, but also by moral forces which will cause the conviction daily to gain ground in modern society, "even in the great Catholic society," that freedom is highly favourable to the spread of true religious feeling. "There is at the present day a more lively and sincere religion in Piedmont than there was twelve years ago. The clergy may have fewer privileges, the monks may have diminished in number; but true religion has more control over the minds and souls of our people than at the time when flattering the hierarchy and hypocritically going to church led men to public offices. . . . When this opinion prevails generally, . . . the great majority of enlightened and sincere Catholics will acknowledge that the Pope may exercise his office in a far more free and independent manner when he is guarded by the love and affection of 22,000,000 Italians, than when defended by 25,000 foreign bayonets."

On the 9th of October Victor Emmanuel addressed, from Ancona, a proclamation to the people of Southern Italy. It was said at Paris to have been written at St. Cloud.

On the 13th the *Constitutionnel*, a semi-official organ of the French Government, published an article on the invasion of Naples by Victor Emmanuel, of which the following is a summary:

The great guarantee of the freedom of a nation is the sovereignty of states, residing either in the dy-

nasty that transmits it, or the people that delegates it. Within the bounds of the state, prince and people have to settle their disputes one with the other in perfect self-liberty. The state has a right to transform itself internally, and to change its dynasties, without other nations thereby acquiring a right to interfere. This is the new principle of non-intervention.

Hence the Neapolitans had a right to make an internal revolution, and Garibaldi had a right to assist them, even with his foreign partisans, because they could not act as an external compulsion of the people. "It was not with his hands that he could conquer a people of 10,000,000 men; he could only communicate his own passion to it."

The Piedmontese invasion, on the contrary, is a direct aggression against the sovereignty of another State. It was accomplished without a declaration of war, and while the representative of the King of Naples was still at Turin. Moreover, it is contradictory to the principles which Piedmont laid down, when it declared that it should consider the entrance of the army of the King of Naples into the States of the Church as a violation of its neutrality, and when it invaded the Papal States on the pretext of their being defended by a force of foreigners.

Further, Cavour attributed the invasion of the Papal States to the wish to prevent a revolutionary outbreak there; and that step was a kind of *coup d'état* against the influence of Garibaldi. But the Piedmontese troops pass into Naples, not to combat, but to aid Garibaldi.

Piedmont, then, is responsible to Europe, and Europe has jurisdiction in such cases of disturbance as these. France washes her hands of her ally.

However just the logic of reason may be in this manifesto, it is at any moment liable to be crumpled up by the "logic of facts." Reasons are now good enough for priests to "fur their gloves" with; but a Napoleon is not a man

"To buckle in a waist most fathomless
With spans and inches so diminutive
As fears and reasons."

Austria.

The following are the heads of the new Constitution granted by the Emperor Francis Joseph to his subjects :

Vienna. Sunday, Oct. 21.

“The official *Wiener Zeitung* publishes a manifesto of the Emperor introducing a charter (*diploma*), founded upon the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, to be binding on all heirs to the throne, to be drawn up for all the provinces, and to be enrolled among the federal laws.

“The charter announces that henceforth the legislative power will only be exercised with the coöperation of the provincial Diets as well as of the Reichsrath. The number of members of the latter is to be increased to 100 by councillors elected by the Provincial Diets. The members are to be distributed among the provinces in proportion to their extent, their population, and the amount of their taxation.

“The Ministries of Justice, Religion, and the Interior, as universal central authorities, are suppressed.

“The Court of Chancery is restored in Hungary, and one for Transylvania is to be established.

“The Chancellor of the Hungarian Court is to be a member of the Ministry. The affairs of the other provinces are to be represented in the imperial councils by a Minister of State.

“A special Ministry is to be appointed for Public Instruction.

“The judicial affairs of all provinces not Hungarian are to be represented in the ministerial councils by the President of the Court of Cassation.

“The interests of national economy and commerce are to be represented in the ministry by a Minister of Commerce.

“The financial functions of the Reichsrath are to be considerably increased. The contracting of new and the conversion of existing loans, the mortgage and sale of the landed property of the State, are to be subject to the approval of the Reichsrath.

“The customs, coinage, all monetary matters, credits, the regulations for the issue of bank-notes, postal, railway, and telegraph affairs, are

only to be treated by Government, with the coöperation of the Reichsrath. Other legislative questions are to be referred to the competency of the different Provincial Diets.

“The treatment of general questions relating to all non-Hungarian provinces is reserved for a conference of the Councillors of the Empire (*i. e.* members of the Reichsrath) representing those provinces.

“As regards the representation of non-Hungarian provinces, detailed instructions are to be given to the Ministers of State, on the basis of local self-government and the representation of all classes and interests in the Provincial Diets.

“The early presentation of provincial regulations, drawn up according to these principles, and the convocation as soon as possible of the Provincial Diets, is ordered.

“The constitutional institutions of Hungary are to be reëstablished. The Hungarian language is to be introduced as the official language in judicial, political, and administrative proceedings. The University of Pesth is to be reopened.

“The abolition of the personal services due to landlords, and of the privileges of the nobles as to the exemption from the payment of taxes, is confirmed.

“The representation of all classes of the country in the Legislature and the Administration is to be established as a principle.

“The convocation of the Hungarian Diet is to take place with the least possible delay, on which occasion the inauguration of the Charter, and the coronation of the Emperor as King of Hungary, are to take place.

“The administration of justice is to be carried on in the prescribed manner, and on the basis of the civil and penal codes until they are legally changed.

“The Royal Curia in Pesth and the Stadtholdership in Buda are to be reëstablished.

“As regards the claims of Hungary and the Servian subjects of Austria for public rights, an Imperial Commissioner has to be appointed to receive communications from the most influential persons representing the different classes. The decision of the Emperor is reserved until the pre-

sentation of the Commissioners' report.

"Similar constitutional institutions are to be granted to Transylvania. The relations of Hungary with Croatia are to be settled by a joint representation of those provinces."

These reforms were introduced by the following autograph letter of the Emperor Francis Joseph, in which he seems to say that the centralising policy of the last twelve years was only intended to answer a present difficulty, but was not to be the immutable rule for the government of Austria.

"IMPERIAL MANIFESTO.—TO MY PEOPLES.

"When I mounted the throne of my ancestors the monarchy was exposed to violent concussions.

"After a struggle, which was most painful to my feelings as a sovereign, it was requisite, as was the case in almost all the violently-disturbed countries on the European continent, to bring about a stricter concentration of the power of government. The welfare of the public in general, and the security of the peaceful inhabitants of the monarchy, rendered such a concentration of power absolutely necessary, as excited passions, and the painful recollections of the past, rendered the free movement of the various elements which had so recently been in conflict impossible.

"It was my wish to learn the wishes and necessities of the various parts of the Empire, and I therefore, by my patent of the 5th of March 1860, established and convoked my enlarged Reichsrath.

"In consequence of the reports submitted to me by the same, I have on this day found good to issue and promulgate a Diploma relative to the legal constitution of the monarchy, to the rights and position of the several kingdoms and countries, and to a renewed 'guarantee' for the representation of the legal tie of the whole monarchy.

"I fulfil my duty as a sovereign by thus bringing into accord the traditions, opinions, and lawful claims of my countries and peoples with the

actual necessities of the monarchy; and with full confidence in the matured judgment and patriotic zeal of my peoples, I leave it to them to develop and strengthen the institutions which have been given, or restored, by me. I hope that these institutions will, by the favour and protection of the Almighty, prosper, and prove a blessing to the country; and I trust that He, in whose hands are the fortunes of princes and nations, will not withhold His blessing from the measures which I, in conscientious solicitude, have taken for the welfare of my subjects.

"FRANCIS JOSEPH (M.P.).

"Vienna, Oct. 20."

The Charter makes no pretence to logical consistence, or to any system; it is founded on the historical rights of the various provinces, and recognises their different characters, without attempting to impose upon them a uniformity which they repudiate. The Reichsrath, with its freedom of speech and publicity of debate, seems destined to grow up into the main stem round which the various Diets will be grouped. It is quite a different body from the sham Legislative Body which is the Emperor's contribution to constitutionalism in France.

It remains to be seen whether the Hungarians and the German liberals will receive these concessions as they deserve to be received, or whether they are so entirely sold to the revolution that they will, like the Italians in the Papal States, prevent any reforms being carried out, in order that they may also prevent the consolidation of the Austrian Empire.

A conference of the rulers of the three northern powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, took place at Warsaw on the 22d Oct. and following days. The personal reconciliation between the Emperors was complete, but all else was merely verbal; no protocols or treaties were the result of the meeting; and immediately after it Austria hastened to assure the Emperor Napoleon that there was no intention of intervening in the affairs of Italy for the present.

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PART XI.

DÖLLINGER'S HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.*

THERE is a witty saying of Jean Paul, suggested by the political and literary aspect of Europe at the beginning of this century, that the dominion over the earth belongs to the French, the sea to the English, and the air to the Germans. "Ideas," says the best historian of German poetry, "are our sword, and literature our field of battle." For ages past the Germans, who for a thousand years after the fall of Rome were the foremost power in the world, have been a people of thought more than action; their influence has been intellectual rather than political, and their speculative activity has been sometimes a consolation and sometimes a source of public disasters and humiliation to the people. Those realms of thought in which they are most thoroughly at home have neither geographical boundaries nor national character, and that universality which is the special quality of their literature forms, in the absence of a jealous and exclusive patriotism, their chief political defect.

"What is it but a vain and curious skill
If sapient Germany must lie deprest
Beneath the brutal sword? Her haughty schools
Shall blush; and may not we with sorrow say,
A few strong instincts and a few plain rules,
Among the herdsmen of the Alps, have wrought
More for mankind at this unhappy day
Than all the pride of intellect and thought?"

The whole range of human knowledge is embraced in their studies; every science is equally cultivated, and the his-

* *Christenthum und Kirche in der Zeit der Grundlegung* (Christianity and the Church in the Period of their Establishment). By J. J. Ig. Döllinger. Ratisbon, 1860.

tory of other countries and of other times is pursued almost as zealously as their own. Yet this very universality raises a barrier between them and other nations, and provokes that feeling of repulsion for the works of the Germans which is as common in England as in France and Italy. There is a want of human interest about the things they write; they do not seem to be actuated in literature by the same motives as ourselves, or to feel the same aspirations and passions, but live and write in a region we can hardly understand, and pursue objects for which we do not care. Their vast labours are carried on apparently without any definite purpose, without aiming at any particular result. With us Oriental learning is kept alive by our Eastern empire; ecclesiastical history is studied for the sake of controversy, English history for political reasons. If we had no Asiatic possessions, no political parties, and no religious sects, all these departments of literature would probably fall into comparative neglect. But in Germany external accidental considerations of this kind have very little weight. The increase of knowledge has been one of the necessities of the German mind since it was awakened by Lessing, and the practical applications, the moral or social consequences, however serious they may be, and however eagerly they may be discussed in popular regions, are not the primary motives of inquiry. For instance, the great critic who did most to establish the text of the Iliad, and that of the Nibelungen Lied, Lachmann, also published the best text of the New Testament which appeared before Tischendorf. The same critical skill and interest which he exhibited in examining the composition of the Greek and German epics also set him to work upon the Bible. Now this is widely remote from the practical spirit in which learning is pursued in this country. We have but little experience of that abstract love of knowledge for its own sake, of that self-denying and disinterested indifference to consequences, and of that faith in the consistency and harmony of all truths, which inspire the energy of the laborious German. We are always tempted when we meet with a new fact, and before we take the trouble to make a note of it, or to recognise its existence, to ask what it proves and where it will lead to, rather than to inquire how it is proved and what it is the result of; and we can hardly appreciate the pleasure with which men who have perfected to the utmost the instruments and the method of scientific research, employ their lives in applying them indefinitely to every conceivable object.

As a natural consequence, there are two principal objec-

tions which are generally made to the historical and theological books of the Germans,—that the former are defective in form and arrangement, and the latter incurably fanciful and unsound. As it is commonly understood, this implies much more than if it were said, what is notoriously true, that many famous scholars are bad writers, and that many of the German divines are rationalists, and much of their philosophy is pantheism. Nor is it enough to say in explanation of the first complaint, that the language, rich and pliable beyond most others, is less cultivated and refined than some. As a literary language, it has not existed in reality much more than a century. Leibniz was obliged to use French and Latin, and Frederick the Great could not write German correctly. Even now it is not an instrument which every educated man is competent to handle, or that can be managed without an effort; and many writers have neither time nor inclination to take the requisite trouble. But that the defect so far is in the men, not in the language, the works of Schiller are alone enough to prove.

The chief object of a scholar in writing a book lies in the new matter he can bring to light, in the novelty either of his facts or of his conclusions. But new discoveries cannot be dug up, and hewn, and polished into shape all at once. The new matter must pass often through many hands before its right place and proportion are assigned to it, and before it is permanently absorbed and admitted into the department to which it belongs. A writer who rests his aim and his fame in the advancement of learning may be satisfied with the performance of part of this labour. Other considerations make a book popular, but if it adds to the sphere of human knowledge and ideas, it is remembered for that alone. The progress of learning is so rapid that every book must soon become in some measure antiquated and superseded, and then the only merit that will be regarded is that of having contributed to the progress by which it has been left behind. This is the fruit of competition. Each writer knows that his book, in order to be read, must surpass those of his competitors in some substantial points, and that it must appear as soon as is consistent with excellence, otherwise the place it aimed at will be occupied, and the gap it was destined to fill will disappear. In order to obtain the success he seeks, eloquence is not required, and, besides, there is no time for it. In short, literature is so constituted in Germany, that an eminent author does not find it worth his while to write for those readers who are attracted by the beauties of style.

The charge of dullness is in reality nearly allied to the charge of a general obliquity of view, which is of more importance and of more general justice, but which is likewise founded on that method of scientific research which to the uninitiated is so distasteful and so strange. Our writers' endeavour to please their readers by making their style as agreeable, or striking, or insinuating, as possible, and by presenting their ideas in the most acceptable light. Inasmuch as they aim at popularity, they are conscious that they are addressing an incompetent audience, that they will be read chiefly by persons who are not always prepared for the truth in its nakedness; and they therefore imitate Solon, and give, not the best they have, but the best that will go down. They think more of the ignorant who are to be persuaded, than of the wise who are to be convinced; and more of the public that requires to be taught, than of the truth which requires to be proclaimed. There is a sort of bargain between the author and his readers, in which some concessions must be made to their ignorance, their weakness, or their prejudices. A national, political, or sectarian partiality taints almost the whole of our literature; that is, an author considers not only what he believes to be true, but what the party he addresses will be disposed to believe; and the first test that will be applied to his book will be, to inquire whether it says what has been said before, whether it is within the range of ideas and of knowledge of the persons who judge it. Now a book that extends knowledge, a book of original thought and original research, has the very opposite character. Its effect will be to dissatisfy partisans, and to break down the exclusiveness of parties; to compel men to make room for the new facts, and to revise their opinions in conformity with them. Nowhere, except in Germany, are the dignity, the freedom, and the authority of learning acknowledged in this manner; and it is this which alienates us from their writings far more than the impieties of Feuerbach or Strauss. It is not so much the offensiveness of particular conclusions that repels us as the spirit in which all their inquiries are conducted. In this respect the Catholic and the Protestant literature of Germany are alike, and their effect upon Catholics and Protestants in other countries is the same; for, although the action of science has been more conspicuous in Protestant Germany, where the best and soundest of their divines and historians, who went out to curse the Church of God, have been compelled, in defiance of the traditions and even of the principles of their party, to utter blessings, and to bear an unwilling

testimony to her, yet the same principle of conscientious inquiry, the same reverence for the authority of science, has established itself during the last thirty years among the Catholics as well. They have abandoned the tone and the character of advocates, and have ceased to treat Catholicism as a party question, in which the object is to put forward the best side of things, to deny or to conceal by the artifices of rhetoric whatever may be less to the advantage of their cause, and to make the best use of the *argumentum ad hominem*.

They have regarded the ends of controversy as in no way distinct from the ends of learning, and have deemed the advancement of the one equivalent to the advancement of the other. For that which was said of the Popes by De Maistre is true, in a higher sense, of the Church—that she has need of truth, and of nothing else. For to her, who is the depositary and the protector of truth, truth alone is natural and congenial; and inasmuch as ignorance and error cannot permanently be kept asunder, inasmuch as truth belongs to the nature of God, and religion is allied with all truths and contradicted by all errors, the Church is not only the enemy of all falsehood, but indirectly, though necessarily, the promoter of all knowledge. She not only does not fear its increase, but requires it. Every other religion not only fears truth, but requires that it should be concealed or disguised. That which upholds the one destroys the other; consequently the adoption of the same principle of scientific inquiry by the writers of both parties has done as much for the disorganisation of Protestantism as for the support and corroboration of Catholicism; but on either side it has effected a great internal revolution. For whilst the old traditions and opinions which were the foundation and the pillar of Protestantism have been shaken in the eyes of the Protestants themselves, many traditions and habits which were the bane and the weakness of Catholic controversialists were struck by the same blow. In adopting the new mode and instruments of warfare, Catholic writers have necessarily taken up a position very remote from those extremes, and from those resources of argument, to which, in the conflict with Protestants, Jansenists, Gallicans, with the scoffers of the eighteenth century, and the scientific incredulity of the nineteenth, their predecessors have so often had recourse. For it is not too much to say—and we cannot say it without shame for ourselves and grief for thousands of souls that have suffered by it—that calumny has been hardly a more popular weapon among our adver-

saries than mendacity with ourselves; and this has been, not the error of blindness or of ignorance, but in many cases the result of a consistent and elaborate design. Whilst the doctrines of the Reformation have been maintained by means of conventional fictions, which no believing Protestant ventures to assail, men have been found amongst us also whose faith was equally weak, and whose conscience at least equally elastic. It has therefore been seen, at every great stride made by profane or ecclesiastical learning, that its progress was resisted on grounds of religion even by Catholics themselves. It was so with the study of nature in the time of Galileo, and it was so likewise when the critical study of history was created by Tillemont and Mabillon, Papebroch and Noris.* And in our own time, if there is not the same resistance and the same antagonism, yet the chasm which separates the leaders of the new school of learning from the followers of the old is scarcely less extensive or less deplorable.

In one respect we English Catholics are at a great disadvantage. One of the chief means by which the spirit of learning has been developed in the Church in Germany is here totally wanting. Not that we are destitute of the example and guidance of writers of the first order, but that they are destitute of opponents who are worthy of them. It is in the nature of things that a man should be influenced almost as much by the character of the adversary with whom he carries on a prolonged contest, as by that of the friend with whom he lives. For he is compelled to adapt himself in some degree to the sort of hostility he encounters; he imitates the arts of his adversary, sometimes his artifices, often his faults. Where this cannot be, the fighting is all on one side; and thus Voltaire had it all his own way. He could not drag his adversaries down to his own level. Ferocity, marauding, negligence, are things learnt in war from an enemy, as well as discipline and vigilance. Now English Protestantism stands much higher morally than the Protestantism of Germany, but much lower intellectually. It is a much more conservative system,

* Attempts were made to obtain the prohibition or censure of the works of each of these eminent men, because, said one of their most learned contemporaries, they were in contradiction with certain opinions on matters not of faith but of fact: "Non con altro motivo che di essere opposti in cose disputabili e controverse alle particolari opinioni di chi vorrebbe che il proprio sentimento fosse regola a tutti, non tanto in cose filosofiche, e che nulla importano alla religione, quanto in verità storiche e di fatto." See Fontanini's memorial to Clement XI. in defence of the annals of Tillemont. CC. Venetorum ad Magliabechium, epistolæ i. 267.

but it is much less addicted to, and less dependent upon, science and learning. The qualities in which it shines the Catholics possess, for the most part, in a still higher degree. In those things in which we most require instruction, it has little that will avail us. Precisely because Protestantism is more respectable here than abroad, it is more unprofitable to contend with it. In England a man shrinks from pursuing his opinions to their logical consequences, or from uttering them if they lead to consequences he is afraid of. Mr. Mill, Mr. Grote, and Mr. Buckle are as far removed from every positive form of Protestantism as Proudhon from every form of Christianity, but their tone is generally decorous. Mr. Darwin refrains from publishing the opinion which it is not denied that he holds, that men grew out of apes; and in the debate on the Census in the House of Commons, it was urged that it would be a great hardship and injustice to compel freethinkers to declare that they believed in no God. We may applaud this reserve; yet it signifies that the English people, who tolerate every opinion, are not ripe for the recognition of that principle of free inquiry which, while it leads Protestants to unbelief on the one hand, carries them also to the Catholic Church. That is another reason why it cannot make its way. Dislike of Popery is as strong an element in Anglican theology as dislike of unbelief. A moderate amount of sincere investigation would scatter to the winds most of the stories on which that part of the popular belief is founded; consequently a species of artificial terrorism keeps down a movement which would certainly be fatal to Protestantism, and as certainly would be favourable to Catholicism. Speaking of his own country, Möhler says (*Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 261):

“As long as the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were really believed, the Protestant Church possessed no poetry, no history, no philosophy. It is certain that whilst the Protestant community was Lutheran it had no philosophy, and when it obtained a philosophy it was no longer Lutheran. Thus their faith repels philosophy, and their philosophy repels faith. When their common faith was set aside, and there was no longer a link connecting them with each other, then came the meridian of their literature. . . . And it was needful that it should attain that high perfection, that the nature of Protestantism might be brought to light. That nature is now in all respects abundantly ascertained, and can be concealed from nobody. The literature of Protestantism is a great fact in the history of mankind, but a dark spot in the history of Christianity. In the Catholic Church art and learning were always

Christian ; and when they could not exhibit that character, preferred to be silent altogether. Nothing is more certain than that the more the principle of individualism is carried out in Protestantism, the more brilliant its products will be ; and, on the contrary, the more perfect the unity of the Catholic community, the more arts and sciences flourish within it."

And it must be remembered that, whatever the immediate result, whether the new road is followed to the right or to the left, in either case it serves the cause of truth. Either it dissipates error, or it pushes error to its extreme, and cures in one case homœopathically, in the other allopathically. It is in the nature of each science that history should do service in the first more direct mode, philosophy in the other. In Germany this has been conspicuously true. It was more easy to show the falsehood of the historical premises of Protestantism than to prove speculatively the truth of revelation. But even in metaphysics, after the followers of Hegel had passed from pantheism to atheism, a reaction commenced, of which we have seen only the beginning. No system that breaks with Christianity is now able to maintain itself, and all the more eminent philosophers speak, if not like Protestants, at least like Christians.

In this country, so long as that Protestant tradition, which is so well described in the *Anglican Difficulties*, retains its authority over learned men, we must continue to be deprived of the greatest incentive to intellectual exertion and to scientific study, and can have very little sympathy or understanding for a literature developed under influences so different from those by which we are surrounded. Only by passing more or less through the same process, acquiring the same experience, encountering the same description of opponents, shall we be enabled to adopt the spirit and the results of German scholarship.* And the time when this must come

* In a note to the sermon on the Theory of Developments in religious doctrine (*Sermons on the Theory of Religious Belief*, 1843, p. 343), Dr. Newman says, "It is not more than an hyperbole to say, that in certain cases a lie is the nearest approach to truth." Perhaps we may apply this paradox to the instance of the results of German learning, as presented to English readers. A mere result, a disconnected fact, taken by itself, may appear as startling as the saying we have just quoted, if the process by which it is reached is kept out of sight, and this process must remain a mystery until we familiarise ourselves with the methods of inquiry ; and this, again, cannot be without a revolution in our habits of thought. If we substitute for the notion of *inferiority*, which Dr. Newman is using here for his illustration, the notion of simple *difference*, we may throw some light on our meaning by quoting the text to which the note refers. "We are obliged to receive information needful to us, through the medium of our existing ideas, and consequently with but a vague apprehension of its subject-matter. Children, who are made our patterns in Scripture, are taught by an accommodation,

to pass is visibly approaching. In the extreme of the Broad-Church party, and in the extreme of the High-Church party, in the school of Dr. Arnold and in the school of the *Union*, Anglicanism exhibits the signs of that movement which in Protestant Germany has redounded so wonderfully to the advantage of religion. From each of these we may learn something. One should compel us to consider what is the real objective teaching of the Church, and what are the conventional accessories and the results of private authority, in order that we may not oppose them with phantoms, and repel those who are seeking the Church by putting forward in her place the opinions of parties. On the other hand, those who are dragging Protestantism to its dissolution may do us the same service which their masters in Germany have done before them, if we prepare ourselves to accept their challenge, and to embark in a course which it would be fatal to refuse, but which is full of peril if it is not pursued with consistency, conscientiousness, and vigour. The example of Catholic Germany is full of encouragement. For the influence by which the great revival of religion has been accomplished went forth from the lecture-rooms of the Universities; and it was wrought by those who had the command of the press and of the education of the clergy. Long after the restoration of religion in France, in Germany it continued at the lowest ebb. The religious orders were abolished, the property of the Church was confiscated, three-fourths of the episcopal sees were vacant, the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was entirely in the hands of the secular power, and the priests were formed and instructed by Febronian, Josephine, or infidel professors. Excepting the venerable Bishop Sailer of Ratisbon, there was hardly one orthodox writer of any note amongst the Catholic clergy. A generation has scarcely passed away, and the Catholics of Germany have acquired in zeal and fidelity nearly the same distinction as in letters. In Prussia and in Baden, two great conflicts with the State and with popular opinion have been successfully maintained; ecclesiastical liberty has been conquered in Austria and in Wirtemberg; and every where the aspect of religion has been greatly changed.

An example of the almost universal decline of faith during on the part of their teachers, to their immature faculties and their scanty vocabulary. To answer their questions in the language which we should use towards grown men would be simply to mislead them, if they could construe it at all. We must dispense and 'divide' the word of truth, if we would not have it changed, as far as they are concerned, into a word of falsehood; for what is short of truth in the letter may be to them the most perfect truth, that is, the nearest approach to truth compatible with their condition."

the period which followed the French war, and of the prevalence of vague and dangerous tendencies, which there was no influence of authority or of opinion in Germany to restrain, is to be found in the short but brilliant career of the man who was the first to take a higher tone, and who put down the lax Catholicism of the day, after having overcome its action on himself. The earliest writings of Möhler bore abundant traces of the spirit of the age when they were written. In the preface to his minor works, Döllinger speaks of some essays which he has omitted, "because they belong to an early immature phase of his opinions, which his extensive study of Christian antiquity, and his profound feeling of religion, soon led him to abandon for ever." As early as 1820, when Möhler was only twenty-five, he startled old divines both by the extent of his knowledge, and by the originality and temerity of his views. "He devoted himself," says one of his early friends, "to a resolute and scientific pursuit of learning, with an enthusiasm for the freedom of inquiry; and his sentiments were not always in harmony either with the doctrines of religion or with the institutions of the Church." Thus, in 1824, we find him advocating—in a very different tone from that in which the *Symbolik* discusses the question—the universal concession of the chalice to the laity, and defending, in the following year, the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. "He could not conceive," he said, "why it was deemed better to run the risk of schism than to yield to so just a demand." These articles appeared anonymously in the first theological journal of the time, and the responsibility for their appearance is borne by the whole Catholic Faculty of Divinity at Tübingen, at that time, and perhaps still, the first in Germany. In the same year appeared his book on the unity of the Church, in which there is so much that is excellent, that it is often put with great benefit into the hands of Protestants in England, but in which the institution of the Episcopate and the Catholic Hierarchy are seriously misrepresented. Yet this was so little considered, that he immediately received an offer of a professorship of theology at Tübingen, and of another at Freiburg, and would, but for the resistance of Hermes, have had the choice of a third at Bonn.

When his *Athanasius* and his *Symbolik* had raised him to the first rank of Catholic divines, Möhler defined, in the following terms, that which is the common foundation of theology in Germany at the present day. "The explanations which, at different times, the Church has given of the primitive faith were mostly called forth by heretical parties, after a contest more or less prolonged. At all times, therefore,

and every where, when the ecclesiastical dogma, the expression which the Church has given, is to be fully explained and interpreted, it is necessary to have recourse to history. At the same time, the proofs of the dogma are principally traditional, that is to say, historical. It is therefore evident that, without a profound study of ecclesiastical history, the science which we understand by dogmatic theology cannot subsist.* In obedience to this principle, the most remarkable dogmatic work that has appeared in Germany since Möhler's Symbolism, the *Dogmatik* of Kulm, is constructed on what may be called the historical method. "The only sure way," says Kulm, "to find out the definite idea of a dogma, and the only way really consistent with the principles of the Church, consists in pursuing its objective development in the Church from the beginning. This is the business of the traditional proof, which thus prepares the way for the speculative part of theology by fulfilling the conditions on which its performance depends."† The second volume contains the treatise on the Trinity. In the first part (pp. 1 to 90), the scriptural teaching on the subject is explained; then comes (90 to 494) the discussion and successive definition by the Church; and finally (494 to 653), the speculative examination of the doctrine. So that the thing which the mediæval and great part of the modern divines took for granted and did not discuss at all,—the external truth of the doctrine, and its agreement with the belief of the Church in all ages,—here occupies three times as much space as that which was formerly considered the whole duty of the divine. That portion of the argument which now receives so much attention was formerly deemed to be supplied by the sentences of Peter the Lombard, which continued to be the text-book of commentators till the end of the sixteenth century. Even Petavius collected the authorities from the Fathers merely, as he says, to prove that matters of faith and of doctrine, as they are now held, are not modern inventions—*ut non pro inventis humanæ calliditatis habeatur, ac morosis et delicatis ludibrium debeat*. In like manner, most of the modern writers content themselves with asserting that such a doctrine was so taught and believed by the Fathers, and then refer to a number of passages as a proof. In this way even the continuity and consistency of the dogma is not established; for only that can be considered as proved to be the common belief of a particular age in which the most eminent authorities in the different countries are

* Historisch-politische Blätter, iv. 137.

† Dogmatik, 1203.

without exception agreed.* The real opinion of an author is not understood by simply quoting a passage here and there from his writings. The whole of his teaching upon each point must be brought to light, and that not with one writer preferred on account of his eminence, but with all the monuments of tradition. But what is now demanded is more even than the proof of continuity, not only to show that the original belief has been preserved, but to show how it has been developed. It is treated, not merely as a question of tradition, but as a question of development. It is not merely the history of essential conservation, but the history of consistent and continuous progress. An attempt is made, not simply to compare the doctrine in its present definite form with its original expression, but to trace its growth from the primitive age of the Church to the present. According to this theory, the fulness of the knowledge of her doctrine given to the Church is neither contained in Scripture nor fixed at any period in the acts of councils or in the writings of divines.

What has been written at any time is but a memorial of the faith and knowledge of the time in which it was written,—one link in the chain of tradition, one step in the process of development. Each age has therefore its part in the work, and every heresy fulfils a providential mission. The business of the divine is, therefore, to consult the stream of doctrine from the source to the latest period of its progress, giving to each portion its just and necessary importance, but deeming his knowledge fragmentary and imperfect if it does not embrace the whole, otherwise he will inevitably substitute the authority of individuals for the authority of the Church; he will be a follower of Paul, or of Apollos, or of Cephas, not of Christ. This is in direct contradiction, therefore, with those who seek the whole teaching of Christ in the Bible, with those who raise up a single great teacher *præter omnes*, or *instar omnium*,—as the Greeks revered St. Cyril, the Jansenists St. Augustine, or in a less degree the Dominicans St. Thomas,—and with those who imagine that the growth of doctrine is concluded, and the Church fixed in her forms and her substance. In this way the future advancement of religious knowledge is founded on the whole past history of the Church, not on the opinions of any particular school. It is in this sense that Dr. Kulm,

* “Tunc unanimis consensus patrum eumulate probatus æstimari debet, cum singularum nationum eminentissimi in alicujus rei adsertione consentiant, ita ut inter illos nemo, qui semper orthodoxus semper orthodoxis adhæsit, dissentiat.” This is the rule laid down by Duperron, and approved by Benedict XIV.

for instance, understands an historical theology as distinguished from the theology of the schools. The doctrine is not merely in the form in which it is to be communicated, but in the form in which it may be increased.

We shall not attempt to determine how far this is the common practice and method of divines, or how far it is a further element of singularity or of novelty on the part of the German writers. It is said that, at the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, an objection was raised to a document which contained or implied a recognition of the theory of developments in doctrine, on the ground that it was not the generally-received opinion. We all remember the opposition that was raised to the theory of Dr. Newman. At any rate, the method of which we have taken the work of Kulm as our example, is as perfectly distinct from the manner in which the divines of the seventeenth century wrote on theology, as the method of Petavius from that of the scholastics; and it has nowhere been applied with greater consistency, or with more surprising results, than in the work just published by one of whom Kulm has said that he is not only the greatest divine of our age, but among the greatest of any age. It is time that we should turn our attention to it.

In the introduction to the *History of Christianity* which appeared some years ago, Dr. Döllinger drew a picture of the world, and of the doctrines which the Church was to overcome. This volume describes the supernatural foundation of the Church in the age of Christ and the Apostles, but stops before the beginning of the great conflict between the two cities. We have seen that the divines who follow the historical method deal with theology as a science requiring historic exposition more than dialectical discussion; it follows, therefore, that their treatment of history is essentially theological. If it is the business of dogmatic theology to show how each doctrine preserved its original substance in growing into its present form, it is the business of the historian to trace from the beginning the internal as well as the outward progress of the Church, to follow the growth of her ideas in the conflict with error, of her customs in the conflict with sin, and of her institutions through all the various influences of history. The work is divided into three books. The first contains the history of Christ, and of the four Apostles whose lives are fully known; the second expounds the teaching of the Apostles, the germs of Catholic theology; and the third describes the constitution and the religious life and practices of the early Church.

The plan and spirit of the book may be understood from the following extracts :

“ The naturalist who opens and dissects a grain of seed is unable, even with the utmost care and attention, to determine what particular forms of vegetable existence are potentially contained in it, or to describe the shape into which it will grow. . . . In like manner, not only the heathens, but the early Christians themselves, were far from perceiving the constructive energy and the range of the moral and spiritual forces which were deposited in their community and intrusted to their ministry. But we have nearly two thousand years of the history of Christianity spread out before our eyes, and are able to comprehend and to measure that constant advance and growth, that process of development accomplished by internal necessity and consistency, which, though never overstepping the limits of the original principle of religious life, has gone far beyond the simple outlines and the primitive forms and manifestations of the apostolic age. In the light of this long experience, in which every successive period serves as the commentary to illustrate that which went before, we find the instrument for penetrating more deeply into the spirit of the Church of the Apostles, and for exhibiting her nature more fully than former generations could do it. . . . In these beginnings lie the forces and the germs of a civilisation which, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, is still growing, still advancing in fulfilment of its mission to all mankind, and a wealth of plastic ideas, an abundance of new creations in State, in Church, in art, in science, and in society, which are still far from being exhausted, and which in ages to come will yet bring forth political and scientific systems such as we yet can barely conceive.

Among the *charismata* enumerated by St. Paul, there is that of prophecy, but no special gift of authorship. Several of the Apostles have left no written works. After the death of Christ, a quarter of a century elapsed before a beginning was made, and then all who wrote were induced to do so by particular motives, and not by the intention of leaving behind them religious documents, or complete confessions of belief, like the books of Moses and the Prophets, or like the holy books of other religions, which professed to be the divinely-revealed codes of law and doctrine. No Apostle thought it necessary, none of them undertook to put down compendiously, in one or more works, the sum of all that he taught by word of mouth; and it could still less be intended that the writings of the several Apostles, separately incomplete but collectively complete, should exhibit the whole of the Christian dogma. That this could not be their aim is evident, because the Apostles did not write after a previous understanding and arrangement with each other. . . . St. Paul laid more stress on what he wrought by word of mouth, on sight and speech, than on writing. Whilst he wrote to the Christians at Rome the longest and most instructive of his epistles, he nevertheless yearned to see them, in order to confirm their faith out of the

riches of his mind. . . . In all the apostolic epistles the knowledge of the substance of belief is assumed. . . . They are very far from constituting, either separately or collectively, a system of doctrine or an epitome of faith. The very first fundamental dogma of Christianity, the dogma of the Trinity, which was so strange and repugnant to the Jews of that day, and unknown to the heathens, the doctrine which the Church was to be engaged for centuries in fixing and elucidating, is nowhere expressly discussed; it is always understood, and is only just touched incidentally. And yet without this doctrine, on which the whole fabric rested, Christianity could not be understood. . . . There is no trace of a collection of the Apostolic writings, or the establishment of a canon of the New Testament having been any where attempted during the Apostolic age by St. John or any eminent Christian. Nor have we all that the Apostles wrote. Two epistles of St. Paul are lost, and were not known to the ancient Church. And we hear nothing of steps taken by the Apostles or their immediate successors to supply all the churches with correct copies of their writings. . . . Nowhere in these earliest works, which do not bear testimony to each other, is it affirmed or supposed that only the writings of the Apostles or their disciples are to be taken as the rule of faith and Christian life; that in them alone, and nowhere else, instruction in the revelations of God is to be sought. Nowhere is it stated or implied that the Apostles have written all that it is essential for the faithful to know, or all that they had orally taught. At the close of his earthly career, St. Paul referred his disciple Timothy, not to his epistles, or to the writings of other Apostles, but to what he had heard from his lips; that teaching he was to commit to trusty men, that they might faithfully preserve it, and hand it on. Oral tradition, therefore, was the means which appeared to the Apostle most suited to hand down the Christian doctrines pure and genuine to those who were to follow, after the departure of the first generation of disciples; even where he referred the faithful to a former writing addressed to them, by which they were to hold, he was careful to give precedence to what they had heard, as the richer spring from which they were to draw.

The dogmatic tradition of the Jews was necessarily transferred to the Christian Church. . . . From that tradition came all that was taught concerning the Resurrection, Judgment, Paradise, Hell, without any definite testimony from the Hebrew canonical books. Much that regards the angels and the fallen spirits in the New Testament is derived, not from Scripture, but from tradition. . . . When a Jewish or heathen proselyte asked what he was to believe and to observe, he was not referred to the collection of the Apostolic writings, for the simple but all-sufficient reason that no fixed complete collection existed until a much later period, and at that time each church possessed only a few pieces. The catechumen was therefore directed to the doctrine handed down by oral tradition. This, he was told, is what the Apostles were taught by Christ, and what we have received from them and their disciples. . . .

The faith of each individual rested, therefore, on the twofold testimony of the Church,—that human and Divine testimony which in each community the younger generation received from the older, and that other parallel testimony which each church received from the others, and thereby from the whole. . . . Instructed, therefore, confirmed, and strengthened by this testimony, and already filled with a definite religious view, those whose zeal impelled them to it, read all the gospels and Apostolic epistles they could procure, and found in them the confirmation of what they had been already taught. They read these writings as belonging to the collective tradition of the Church, and forming the first written part of it. And as here the oral tradition, committed to the Church and continued in her, was first incorporated in written monuments, so it happened likewise in the next and in subsequent ages. At all periods the Church produced a literature consisting of monuments of contemporary tradition ; and thus a part of that which lived in the consciousness of the faithful was constantly fixed in writing, though naturally the whole of the belief present and living in the Christian community was never fully expressed in its literary productions and ecclesiastical documents. For it is not possible to write down the whole system of the life, the thought, and the feeling of a great society like the Church. The faith of each period was fed by these memorials of previous ages, above all, by those of the Apostles. Thus in each portion of ecclesiastical history the whole of the earlier times of the Church continued to work by means of the living organism which united the Church of the present with its past, through the unfailing power of the Divine word, "I am with you to the end of time," through practices and institutions which had been inherited, through the teachers who, though dead, still lived and spoke in their writings.

What the Apostles transmitted to the Church in speaking and writing was not a set of ready finished articles, a number of dogmas complete in matter and form, to preserve which carefully in her memory and in authentic copies, and to watch the heirloom of doctrine as a possession finished once for all, would be the only office of the Church. The first deposit of doctrine was a thing full of life, destined to have an organic growth ; and in obedience to a necessary interior impulse, and in harmony with the spiritual requirements of the faithful in different ages, to develop itself from its root, and to fashion for itself the most suitable expression. It consisted rather of facts, principles, dogmatic seeds and hints, which bore in themselves the tendency and the capacity of successive development and doctrinal evolution, and in which an abundance of dogmatic matter lay potentially included. Therefore, according to the historical character of the Christian religion, it was necessary that the doctrine should be successively developed, without alteration of its substance, in an order corresponding to the whole life of the Church, and in reciprocal communication with it. This was the work of the united intellectual efforts of the most enlightened Chris-

tians, continued for centuries, always building on the foundation of those who had preceded them, and ever penetrating deeper and deeper into the meaning of the Holy Writings, so as by degrees to lay open all the hints and germs of truth which they contain. This was promoted partly by the very nature of a Divine communication. Its design being to penetrate and to master, not only the sphere of morals, but the whole spiritual life of man, it must include an inexhaustible abundance of consequences, ever developing through the inevitable craving of the human mind, striving to open its way farther and farther into the doctrines it had received, to give them shape in a harmonious system, or to realise them in all their ramifications in a manner satisfying the demands of the understanding. Again, the heretical attempts successively made to corrupt or to dissolve all Christian doctrines, obliged Christians to fortify the points of attack, and to surround them as it were with a bulwark of more advanced and more profound definitions ; to protect the dogma intrusted to the keeping of the Church from all the dangers of partial or vicious interpretation, or of a false development ; to examine all its parts, to establish their full signification, and to secure them by ecclesiastical decrees. In such cases the tradition of the Church made itself heard through many voices, as the common conscience of the faithful, which felt itself threatened and outraged, and therefore pressed for positive decisions. Thus through the whole history of the Church the process continues by which doctrine is formed, and which the human intellect must undertake to pursue, not independently or influenced solely by natural impulses, but guided by the Paraclete, who is the Teacher of the Church. And thus the development and definition of doctrine was in reality the work of the same Spirit from whom the dogmatic contents of the New Testament originated ; and whatever admixture of narrowness, of error, or of passion there might be in the individuals who were the organs of this process, was made harmless by the action of the Divine Spirit that ruled the Church, and was consumed by the fires of spiritual purification.

The Christian system, from its intellectual and moral elevation, its mysteries incomprehensible to vulgar reason, and the inexorable earnestness of its moral precepts, is naturally exposed more than any other religion to the assaults and the disturbing and corrupting influences of human inclinations, selfish desires, and mental incapacity, and therefore to the danger of being misrepresented and degraded in the service of egotism and shortsighted passion. The Church escaped this peril which menaced her chief treasure, the principle of her existence, by the possession and the use of the apostolic writings and of the other ancient and subsequent documents of her faith, by the stability of that constitution which was her necessary organ for the preservation of tradition, and for the vigorous rejection of impure and pernicious elements, and by the protecting guidance and perpetual illumination of the Spirit of God. In every age the doctrine and tradition prevailing in the

Church was a product, at once human and divine, of the combined action of divine forces with human faith, the result of the life and the belief of all former generations. Her inner growth, the gradual evolving of the dogmatic principles to their consequences, the successive appearance of the articulate members which were included in the doctrinal germs, the multiplication and the extension of dogmatic decisions and formulas,—all this was accomplished by the union of three forces and modes of ecclesiastical action: the dialectical; the learned research directed to the memorials of early tradition, to the Bible and the early ecclesiastical literature; and the devotional contemplation of Scripture and of the mysteries. In a similar way, the religious knowledge of mankind before Christ had required more than a thousand years to proceed from the simple facts and articles of faith which constituted the religion of the Patriarchs, to the highly-developed system of belief which was professed by the Jewish contemporaries of our Lord,—for instance, by Pharisees like Gamaliel or Saul; and this was the development attained by the combination of progressive revelation and human intellect in a single nation; whilst in the great work of the development of Christian doctrine the most richly-endowed nations of three continents have employed themselves during eighteen hundred years. . . . Every man, whether cleric or layman, could take his share in the inquiry according to the measure of his gifts, and contribute his part to the great process of the formation and elucidation of Christian doctrine and opinion; he could do it with the greater confidence that he felt himself supported and preserved by the body to which he belonged, by the Church, whose virtual or actual approbation or rejection decided, sooner or later, upon the truth or error, the value or worthlessness, of his views,—provided only that he and the followers he might obtain possessed a faith strong enough and humble enough not to set themselves above the spirit of the Church” (Pref. pp. iv. iii., pp. 142, 145, 154, 156, 159, 161-165).

An attentive reader of these passages will easily understand the spirit in which this work is written, and the part that it assigns to history in the study of religious truth; but we have failed to give any idea of the singular dignity and terseness, and yet gracefulness, of the author's style. There is no part of the volume which is not intelligible even to persons unused to the language of theology. Whilst the extent and accuracy of research give a great value to the narrative in the first book, and to the description of early Christian life and institutions in the third, the clearness and simplicity with which questions of doctrine are explained, a merit more rare in Germany than with us, bestows on the second book an importance of a peculiar kind. For the points here described are in some sense the text upon which the history of Christianity is an incessant commen-

tary, and the true or false interpretation of which has been the source, on the one hand, of all Catholic theology, on the other of all controversies and of all heresies. If this work should be continued to modern times, treating in the same luminous manner the religious knowledge and discussions of each successive age, its importance, in a controversial point of view, can hardly be over-estimated. In this volume it requires an experienced eye to discern the controverted points which are implicitly treated, for the tone is never either polemical or apologetic. Perhaps we may say that there is much which would have a more specific interest for a Protestant than for a Catholic, to whom it may never have cost much thought or study. But these are matters which may be passed by in the pages of a Review devoted, not to questions of faith and theology,—which are discussed in Protestant controversy, but on which all Catholics are necessarily agreed,—but rather to those subjects which are not landmarks between two religions, not articles with which a faith must stand or fall, but on which Catholics may differ without prejudice to their orthodoxy, though not always without danger to their cause.

Dogmatically the chapters on the doctrine of justification are the most interesting and the most copious; for, of all questions of doctrine, it is that which has least participated in the process of development, and which must most of all be treated as a question of Scriptural interpretation. In the other places, consistently with the author's method, and with the theory we have endeavoured to explain in his own words, he does not so much seek to assimilate the primitive teaching and practices with their subsequent forms, or to prove the resemblance between the early and the later Church, but rather to bring a light in the less conspicuous facts of ecclesiastical antiquity, and in the latent signification of the apostolic writings, the obscure and almost invisible germs of doctrines and institutions which were destined to assume through the conflicts of many after ages proportions and an importance which originally could not be divined. The prophecies in particular receive great attention, and Dr. Döllinger has cast upon them all the light which the history of the Church has supplied. An appendix of thirty pages, on the history of the interpretation of the passage on the Man of Sin, gives an idea of the amount of labour bestowed on the difficult portions of the New Testament. In the text of the work all the scaffolding is removed, the quotations are almost exclusively from the original authorities, and the opinions of the modern writers are

seldom referred to, and hardly ever discussed, even in the notes.

Our readers will hardly expect us to give an account in detail of the contents of a book devoted to a subject of all others the most familiar to Christians. We have tried to explain its character in so far as it widely differs from other works on the same period ; and it would be fruitless to indicate severally the peculiar conclusions of the author on uncertain points, unless we had space to discuss them, or at least to explain the grounds by which they are supported. One or two there are to which we may be tempted to recur, points of great present interest, and recently the subject of discussion ; for the value we attach to this work is still more in the solution of great problems than in the general view of religion, which cannot be fully appreciated or obtain its full authority until it has been applied to the later periods of the Church. And these great problems are not in the doctrinal domain alone, but such as are provoked by the position of the Church in the world, the resistance she encounters, the society on which she acts. The social and the political character and influence of Christianity are here explained, as well as its organisation in the Church ; and the lines of its whole career among mankind are fully and distinctly traced. Although the history of which Dr. Döllinger writes has possessed the same supreme importance for Christians in all ages, yet the present position of religion and science gives to this work a value which it could have possessed at no former period. As the facts to which it owes this importance are partly peculiar to Germany, and not as familiar to us as to the author's countrymen, and as they form, so to speak, the atmosphere in which it has been written, it will do more to explain the consequence we attribute to it if we describe the circumstances to which we allude, than if we devote our remaining pages to an account of the work itself.

It is about thirty years since that school of critics, which is best known in England by the name of Strauss, but which in Germany is called the School of Tübingen, was founded by Baur. The Rationalists of the eighteenth century had abundantly exercised their ingenuity in explaining away miracles, and in eliminating the supernatural element from history. They admitted the substantial truth of sacred history, but held that all that is marvellous could be explained by natural causes. The appearance of Jehovah on Mount Sinai meant a great thunder-storm ; the tongues of fire at Pentecost were electrical sparks ; the fetters of the Apostles

in prison were burst by an earthquake; the miraculous cures of the Gospel were performed by the help of medical resources, which the evangelist has omitted to record. Our Lord fed the five thousand by giving the example of distributing all the food that could be found; and the miracle of Cana was an ingenious artifice suited to the festive occasion. It is argued by the modern school of Rationalists that this mode of interpretation implies as great credulity as that of the supernaturalists. If nothing was too manifestly miraculous to be explained quite naturally, nothing could be too incredible to shake their faith in the natural portions of the narrative. The absurdity which they find in disbelieving miracles, and yet believing the sincerity and authenticity of narratives which are full of miracles, is obvious; and the progress of historical criticism in the hands of Wolf and Niebuhr provided them with a new and powerful auxiliary.

Wolf thought it very unlikely that in the time of Homer a perfect poem would be composed in obedience to all the rules devised by later critics, and exhibiting, together with all the originality and inventiveness of primitive times, the mature design of a more reflecting age. He examined the text closely, and maintained that the Homeric poems were gradually put together, that they grew rather than were composed, that they were the work, not of one man, but of a whole nation. Many popular legends, attached to different families and different places, were gradually united by men who had nothing to do with inventing them. The foundation of the argument was, that the poems were in existence at a time when they could not have been written.

Fifteen years later Niebuhr carried into history the mode of criticism which Wolf had first tried on poetry. The early legends and traditions of a nation might be preserved and collected in prose as well as in verse. History as well as religion might be clothed in mythical form; and this was most likely in a country where the old ballads had never been combined in a great national epic. It was therefore established, not only that an ancient book, apparently one in design and origin, might, by careful dissection, be divided into several distinct parts, but also that an historical narrative may be constructed out of legends, and that myths may be given for facts. So much was certain, that in primitive society the memory of important events is preserved by means of poems, and that they are invested with a mythical and supernatural appearance; whilst at a more advanced stage of civilisation the contrary process occurs, and stories, possessing no other value than their poetic merit, are trans-

lated into sober history. In other words, there are histories of which it may be shown that they consist of myths such as belong to the simple childhood of a people, but which, for various purposes, have been collected and given as facts. It must be remembered that both Wolf and Niebuhr were admitted to have proved at least their negative proposition; whether in each case the superstructure was solid or not did not affect the application of the same method of investigation to all other works of the kind, that is, to all poems and histories belonging to the mediæval period of any nation. Such a theory, raised upon grounds where no interest was affected but that of pure erudition, and matured therefore without any ulterior purpose whatever, was naturally a welcome instrument in the hands of a Rationalist theology.

That which was proved regarding Homer might be true of Moses. It might be that arguments analogous to those which showed the Iliad to be a collection of unconnected pieces would produce similar results on the book of Genesis. And if Livy united the poetical legends of the heroic age to adorn and to corroborate the patriotism of the Romans, why might not the history of Samson or of David have been compiled by a Jew from some equally praiseworthy motive? Accordingly, during the first quarter of the century, the Old Testament was the object of attacks which were soon extended to the New. What was settled concerning the holy books of the Jews might be found equally true with the holy books of the Christians. At the time when this began there was no Catholic theology in Germany, and Schleiermacher at Berlin was the great doctor of Protestantism. He was also the first of the more unscrupulous critics. He treated the history of the New Testament as Niebuhr had treated the history of Rome, and argued that the discrepancies of the several books were due to the fact that different traditions had been used by the different writers. But not only did the Gospels betray the existence of distinct traditions, but the epistles of St. Paul betray the hand of distinct authors. Many of the epistles were therefore rejected as spurious, and the Gospel narratives were to be credited according to the value of the traditions to which each fact could be traced. In this way the method used by the classical scholars was applied to the New Testament by the greatest authority among divines. Still it was but an external criticism, which might be allowed without surrendering the substance of the history of Redemption.

Next to Schleiermacher and Niebuhr, the greatest name in the literature of those days was Hegel. Disciples of the

first combined the criticism of the second with the philosophy of the last, and the result was the Tübingen school. When Wolf published his *Prolegomena*, the reigning metaphysician of the day, Fichte, informed him that he had already arrived, *a priori*, at the same conclusions. In the same way it may be said that the critics supplied the means of maintaining a position which, to Hegelians, was a necessary truth. In Hegel's system there is no personal God distinct from the universe, but a substance that realises itself only in the mind of each individual man. There is, therefore, no personal immortal soul, no free will, and no providence. God is impersonal Reason, subsisting in mankind collectively. History is the process by which He manifests and develops Himself,—a process consequently reasonable, intelligible, consecutive, in which all things are connected by a chain of inevitable causation, in which they succeed each other naturally and necessarily, in which there is only one single agent. In profane history this system of pantheism has promoted many brilliant researches by teaching men to seek the reason and connection of causes and effects, by insisting on the harmony of the parts, the reasonableness of the design, and the action of constant laws. But it explains only what lies in the sphere of nature, to the exclusion of the divine and of the human will. It denies the existence of supernatural causes, and the possibility of an interruption of the natural process. The evangelical history possesses, therefore, no reality, and in part no meaning. The Resurrection is impossible. The mystery of Incarnation is but an expression of the idea that man is actually God; it is not a particular act, but the perpetual mode of God's existence. He did not once become man, but is eternally man. He did not once assume human shape, but He can assume no other. Christ is the unity of human and divine nature. The history of His life is therefore a fable, and the history of His religion is perfectly natural. These two ideas are the whole patrimony of the Tübingen school. They endeavour to prove them by the aid of the theory of myths, and of Hegel's theory of natural continuity. Hegel himself invited this combination when he said: "As far as the historical, the external, the finite, are concerned, the sacred writings may be regarded in the same light as profane books;" and, "When it is said that the first man acted thus, this is a mode of speaking to the senses. The first man signifies in reality man as man; not a particular accidental individual among many, but man according to the notion of man" (*Werke*, xii. 217).

They proceed, therefore, as follows. In the natural sciences we consider only the operation of natural forces, and admit no interruption or suspension of them. An astronomer can reckon with the greatest certainty, for ages beforehand, the date of an eclipse or the appearance of a comet. A naturalist can with a fossil fragment construct an animal he has never seen or heard of. Why should history be exempt from laws which apply universally in other sciences? Besides, in profane history we reject every miraculous interruption of the natural order, however strong the evidence may be in its favour.* What probability is there that the Bible history is not subject to precisely the same rules? In an age when Protestantism had taken a low rationalistic character, this was a question not easily answered. Catholics are on a different footing, for they admit the possibility of miracles at all times, and at all times judge of their likelihood according to the evidence. Protestants, to be consistent, carry rationalism into Gospel history, whilst the Catholic system carries the reverence for the supernatural into profane, even into pagan history. Our canons of criticism cannot be quite the same. A Protestant either lowers sacred history to the level of profane, or else draws so decided a distinction between them, that no criticism is tolerated in the one, and no miracles are admitted in the other. A Catholic, instead of making so broad a separation, transfers to secular history much of the method he applies to religious history. We differ from the Protestant supernaturalists because the critical examination of the Bible, conducted in the spirit of religion, does not equally affect the foundation of our faith. For the tradition of the Church is both more ancient and more extensive than the writings of the New Testament. We differ from the rationalists because the analogy of sacred and profane history leads us, not to question the truth of the first, but to believe more readily the truth of the last. A Catholic has necessarily a more exalted notion of the import-

* "We cannot conceal from ourselves that it is, intrinsically speaking, difficult to defend the miracles of the New Testament, and to question those recorded by St. Augustine, and that that Father is right when he uses these, as the best authenticated, in order to prove the possibility of the others. Marvellous occurrences have happened to well-known persons, sometimes in the presence of crowds of people, and have been recorded officially; and yet our theologians, at least the Protestants, disbelieve in these miracles, and nevertheless condemn our criticism, because it thinks the occurrence of such fables equally possible in writings of which we are far less certain when, and by whom, and with what information they were composed" (Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1860, iii. 141). The passage is from an article attributed to the ablest living representative of the Tübingen school, Zeller, the well-known author of a "History of the Philosophy of the Greeks."

ance and of the certainty of history than a Protestant; and the well-known story of Raleigh, and the well-known saying of Johnson, are essentially anti-Catholic. For our religion rests not on the history of one age only, but on the knowledge of the history of many successive ages—not on the interpretation of Scripture alone, but on the authenticity of writings not inspired.

The Hegelian philosophy, not the critical method, is the great vice of the Tübingen school. They profess to go to work without preconceived notions, with nothing but the criterions used and found true in all historical science. Their peculiarity, they say, is only in the instrument they employ, not in the point they start from, or in any definite end. This may be true of Niebuhr writing on the history of Rome, or Müller on the history of Greece; but it is false in the case of a disciple of Hegel examining the New Testament. Before starting he has arrived at a perfectly definite conclusion, to which all his labour is secondary, and to which it inevitably tends. Niebuhr set about examining Livy, wondering whether he should find him right or wrong; but a Hegelian judges beforehand that the Gospel narrative must be untrue. For if miracles are impossible, a history which is full of miracles must be fabulous, and men who recount the miracles they have seen or heard of must be impostors or dupes. Herodotus may have a fabulous story, yet his credit is not destroyed when he describes the battle of Marathon; but it would be perfectly ridiculous to apply to the *Arabian Nights* the same canons. The assertion that they, and they alone, are unprejudiced judges, is the great imposture of the new school of critics. They pretend that they can inquire sincerely into the truth of a narrative *a posteriori*, which is in their eyes *a priori* incredible. They claim to be without any theological bias, and they begin by denying the truth of the religion whose history they are studying. Assuming, therefore, the principle that the foundation of Christianity is a perfectly natural and intelligible process, they necessarily rejected as fabulous a large portion of the life of Christ, His miraculous birth, His resurrection and ascension, all the miracles for which no plausible natural interpretation could be found, and most of the discourses recorded by St. John. It is therefore admitted, that much of the Gospel history is not literally true. This Strauss endeavoured to make more probable, independently of the argument against miracles, by the most ingenious use of the discrepancy between St. John and the other Evangelists, and of the imperfect agreement of these among themselves.

This, the attack on the old Gospel harmonies, is the most brilliant part of his book; and it cannot be said that the explanations that used to be given can be admitted in the presence of his skilful argument. But this was only the first, the destructive, part of his work. If the Gospels relate things which are not true, how did these things come to be believed? If these stories are not historical, how did they arise? The answer was borrowed from Niebuhr: the Gospel history is full of myths. That is to say, it is composed in great part of poetical stories that have been gradually and unconsciously formed, and are not the work of individuals, and which are founded neither in fact nor in pure fancy, but are the product of certain religious ideas. They arose, therefore, under the influence of a religious purpose and interest. What, then, is the foundation they have in common, by which their general agreement is explained? Strauss answers, that they proceed from the attempt of the Christians to show that the prophecies of the Old Testament, and especially the notion of the Messiah, are fulfilled in their founder. This is his solution of the problem presented by the existence of the New Testament and of the Christian religion. He discards great part of the evangelical account, and of the rest explains only that in which the different accounts fully agree. But he does nothing to explain the different character of the different Gospels, and in this the others went beyond him. They say that there is not only a common Christian interest at the root of all the accounts, but that each writer has a particular purpose and character of his own. They found an intention in the selection and arrangement of the matter in the several Evangelists, and especially in the longer discourses, which could not be the product of a legend. The next problem, therefore, was to find out the various motives and designs which lay hidden in the different works. If they are the result of differences of opinion among the early Christians, and memorials of their controversies, then they give a new light by the internal evidence they afford of the state of the Church. The whole literary activity of Baur was devoted to the elucidation of the parties which divided the Christians of the Apostolic age, in which he finds a key to the diversities in the writings of the New Testament. Of course these are exaggerated and multiplied as much as possible. Now, both for the formation of myths, and for the development of controversy, time is required; consequently the books of the New Testament must have arisen very gradually, some of them late in the second century. The chief argument for this is the asser-

tion that Gnosticism arose only in the time of Hadrian, and that the sects which are alluded to in the New Testament cannot be distinct from it; so that the epistles of St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, the pastoral epistles, and the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, belong to the second century, and are not the work of the Apostles. The Gospel of St. John in particular betrays traces of Montanist and other controversies which prevailed long after the death of the Apostle.

One half of the New Testament being thus declared the result of the religious conflicts of the second century, similar conflicts in the apostolic age are assumed as the groundwork and explanation of those apostolic writings whose authenticity is admitted. St. Peter, St. James, and St. John are represented as the real Jewish disciples of Christ, whose doctrines were nearly those of the Essenes, and of the later Ebionites. In opposition to their narrow Judaic Christianity, Hellenistic Jews introduced a more generous universal doctrine. St. Stephen was the founder of the new school; St. Paul its most energetic defender. He brought the antagonism to a crisis by asserting that belief in the Resurrection was enough for salvation, without the observation of the Jewish ritual. Rejected by the Jewish party, he became the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the opposite party ceaselessly strove to impede him by their epistles and emissaries, and by personal imputations. The authentic memorials of this conflict are, on the side of St. Paul, the epistles to the Galatians, the Corinthians, and to the Romans (with the exception of the last two chapters); and of the judaizing party, the Apocalypse, the only remaining work of a personal disciple of Christ, which attacks in the Nicolaites the disciples of St. Paul, and insists upon the number of the twelve Apostles in order to represent his claims to the office as unfounded. All the remaining books of the New Testament are spurious, and belong to the later periods of the controversy. In the epistle to the Romans, and in his last journey to Jerusalem, St. Paul tried in vain to conciliate his adversaries; but in Rome his epistle and his martyrdom had a conciliatory effect, which is expressed in the legend which united the two Apostles in their last labours and in their death. The Gospel of St. Luke was written in the interest of St. Paul; that of St. Matthew, about the year 140, in the Jewish interest, and such passages as xxviii. 19 are interpolations, and inconsistent with the spirit of the original. But the success of St. Paul in his mission to the heathen overcame at last the resistance of the Petrine party. They surrendered

the strict observance of the law on condition of preserving the commandments of Noah, and they accepted baptism instead of circumcision. In consideration of which concessions, the Pauline theology consented to give up the strict doctrine of justification, and thus neutralised the antagonism of faith and works. This process of conciliation is marked in the epistle to the Hebrews, and the remaining epistles bearing the name of St. Paul, and in the Gospel of St. Mark, on the part of the Gentile Christians; and in the epistles attributed to St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude, on the part of the Jews. The opposition was carried on by the Marcionites, and in the pseudo-Clementine writings. The definitive reconciliation and oblivion of the past is expressed in the Acts of the Apostles, which suppress the conflict altogether. The highest product of the union are the Epistles and Gospel of St. John, written at the time of the Paschal controversy, in which the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah is developed with the aid of Greek speculation, and under the influence of Philo to the notion of the Logos; and the religion of charity signifies the filial harmony of all parties. In this manner the Catholic Church took its rise, towards the close of the second century. "Professor Baur," said one of his colleagues, "applies to the history of the Apostolic age the experience of his university life. St. Peter is a venerable professor, whose dignity and importance are attacked by an emancipated student; and St. Paul is the ambitious and restless competitor, who tries to take the seat of his old master."

If any body should say, that in a matter of so much importance as the writings of the Apostles, there could be no doubt respecting their authorship, the answer is that the *Εἰκὼν βασιλική* was attributed to King Charles immediately after his death. Nor was it any reproach to compose books, and attribute them to men in defence of whose opinions they were written. It was precisely the same case as the orations of the classical historians, or the Socratic conversations in Plato. Again, it might be urged that the first centuries of the Christian era were a highly civilised age, in which the ordinary conditions on which the rise of myths depends are totally wanting. This is met by referring to the legend of Simon Magus, and to the innumerable spurious acts of the early martyrs.

In this way the rise of Christianity is explained. But it still remains to be shown how the person of Christ came to be clothed with so many foreign ideas. As there is no testimony of an eye-witness except the Apocalypse, which

is not an historical book, it is necessary to consider what elements there were in the age in which He appeared which could give rise to the accounts of His life and doctrine. As there is nothing in the history of the world sudden or unprepared, Christianity must necessarily be the religious form which suited the age in which it appeared, and was the result of a long previous process. The universal monarchies, the destruction of national characters and of national religions, had prepared the way for a universal faith. It arose accordingly without delay, as soon as the Romans had achieved the conquest of the world. It was the religion that corresponded to the political state of the time, by which the national exclusiveness even of Judaism had been broken. It contained nothing which had not already appeared in some shape or other. One portion of its substance was supplied by the Greek philosophy. The process of regeneration, which culminates in Christianity, was begun by Socrates. His practical reflective philosophy, the self-knowledge on which he insisted, is essentially Christian; and the inquiry into the supreme good which occupied the later schools, turns upon the great problem of the Christian faith. The ethics of Aristotle, of Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, anticipate nearly all its moral teaching. Paganism led therefore to the very threshold of the new religion. Its formation was the result of a process extending from the appearance of Socrates, during six hundred years, to the composition of the Gospel of St. John. The notion of the person of Christ, a subordinate element in the system, came from the Jews. It was simply assumed that the Messiah had appeared, the fulfilment of the prophecies was referred to Him, and the rich treasures of Hellenic speculation supplied the substance of His teaching. In the Gospel of St. Matthew the person has less importance than the doctrine, and the doctrine reduces itself to very little. It consists, in fact, of no more than the Sermon on the Mount, and the substance of the sermon are the beatitudes; and the only characteristic and original idea is the beatitude of the poor. Among the Jews, the Essenes approached very near to the later Christian system, with their poverty, charity, and communism; whilst the Alexandrian Jews combined heathen philosophy with the Mosaic system by means of allegorical interpretation, and prepared the speculative part of Christianity.

So that there was a striving on the part both of paganism and of Judaism to approach each other; all that the Christians afterwards believed already existed; and the

fusion took place when the disciples of Jesus declared that the Messiah had appeared, that the Jewish prophecies were accomplished, and that His doctrine was addressed to all mankind. Christianity satisfies all the hopes, the wants, the aspirations, and the speculation of antiquity. It is enough to know what these were, in order to tell the form which the successful religion would inevitably take.

There are those who estimate the danger and importance of a theory in inverse ratio to the enormity of the conclusions to which it leads. Where there is much that is apparently fanciful and absurd, they will suppose that there can be little to try faith. This would be a very erroneous view of the real significance of the criticism of the school of Tübingen. For it is at the same time the legitimate and natural result of the Protestant system from the time of the Reformation, and the ripest fruit of the metaphysical and historical science of Germany. In all this there is nothing more arbitrary than that which has constantly been insisted upon by Protestants, the notion that St. Peter never came to Rome. If the evidence on which that belief is founded is not conclusive, there is nothing certain in the history of the origin of Christianity. So long as Protestants hold fast to its denial, and to their disbelief of miracles generally, the victory is with their more consistent adversaries. They may be confuted in detail; but their principles of investigation and their conclusions cannot substantially be impugned. It has been one of the most remarkable effects of this controversy to produce a strong conservative reaction among Protestant commentators, a revision of the theory of miracles, and a surrender of the old opinion against the presence of St. Peter in Rome.

The German intellect can boast of no greater achievement than the creation of the critical and reconstructive methods, of which the school of Baur represents the highest development. It is, in all other departments of learning, the great instrument of the discoveries by which they have attained their supremacy in literature. By means of its agency they have effected a revolution both in classical and in mediæval history. The principles and the faculties by which these triumphs have been achieved are, to at least an equal degree, in the possession of the Tübingen critics. In dialectical skill and in erudition none of their Protestant adversaries can cope with them, and several of the party have acquired in other branches of learning a durable reputation. Neither Mosheim nor Neander can be compared either in critical sagacity or in classical and patristic know-

ledge with Baur. Zeller is the author of the best history of ancient philosophy. Schwegler, another conspicuous member of the school, has written the best history of Rome. Strauss has written on the sixteenth century works of enduring value. It is not therefore surprising that a school composed of such men should have held their own against Protestant Germany. They have been victorious in many an encounter with inferior adversaries, and the names of those by whom unsuccessful refutations have been attempted are to be found among Catholics as well.* Their tendency is too much in harmony both with the faith and knowledge of the day not to be gradually adopted wherever rationalism is found, which derives from them a scientific energy it never possessed before. The first symptoms of their influence may already be discerned in England, and its effect will be greater here than abroad. For Anglicanism both holds more closely to the Bible than German Protestantism, and has fewer means of defending it. It will neither be able to avoid nor to sustain the shock.

These are the facts, in the present condition of the religious world, which give to the work of which we have been speaking an almost unexampled importance. It places before the destructive rationalism of the day a complete, harmonious, and detailed picture of the Apostolic age, drawn with an abundance of ecclesiastical knowledge, a power of combination, and a soundness of criticism, to which neither the modern rationalists nor their opponents in Germany have any pretension. That which in the older writers afforded scope for the successful assaults of the critics, is here purified and corrected with all the appliances of modern learning. No difficulty is avoided, no point surrendered, no inconsistency tolerated, no problem, we might almost say, left without its solution. Without expressly disputing with the infidels in points of detail, it supplies a complete refutation of their works, and replies not to their attacks only, but to all that have been made against the belief which the Church has of her origin; thus satisfying not only a special requirement of our time, but what must, at all times, be the chief desire of a Catholic, *κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα.*

* An instance of this kind, in some recent articles of the *Correspondant*, can only be explained by the evident fact that the author has not made himself acquainted with the chief works and opinions of the school.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE.*

DR. FORSTER is a clever man and an industrious historian, inquisitive of old records, and sagacious in sifting facts; but he fails when he comes to sift principles, when the power of distinguishing is most necessary. "When a doubt is propounded," says an author whom he is fond of quoting, "you must learn to distinguish, and show wherein a thing holds, and wherein it doth not hold: *aye* or *no* never answered any question. The not distinguishing where things should be distinguished, and the not confounding where things should be confounded, is the cause of all the mistakes in the world."

Hume has with considerable truth drawn a distinction between the noble political character of the men who defended the liberties of England against the encroachments of the Stuarts and their narrow sectarian bigotry. Dr. Forster's object is to mix up again these two questions, and to confound the religion and politics of the time into one mess. That "most memorable state-paper," the Grand Remonstrance, "demonstrates," he says, "by its close and powerful reasoning how inseparable religion and politics had become, and how each was to be stabbed only through the other." In other words, the political history of the Long Parliament is a religious demonstration of the incompatibility of Popery with civil liberties, and of the necessity of Puritanism and Protestantism to the preservation of English freedom. The argument is so familiar to the English mind that its monstrous fallacies will not excite remark. But its fallacies are monstrous nevertheless. One who was present during the debates, and whose learning, speeches, and writings had done more than most men's to forward the cause of liberty,—one who is quite a representative (like Burke) of the scientific statesmen of England,—had from the facts before him come to a conclusion widely different. Selden's notion was that religion was the mere pretext for the fight for liberty. "The very *arcanum*," he says, "of pretending religion in all wars is, that something may be found out in which all men may have interest. In this the groom has as much interest as the lord; . . . religion is equal to both." Again: "The soldiers say they fight for honour, when the truth is, they have their honour in their pocket. And they mean the same thing that pretend to fight for religion."

* *The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance, November and December 1641; with an Introductory Essay on English Freedom under Plantagenet and Tudor Sovereigns.* By John Forster, LL.D. London: Murray.

The fact is, that liberty of itself is too rare and colourless a medium to excite any great passion. It is the atmosphere of free thought and action; but who ever heard of an enthusiasm for an atmosphere? Pure air is the last luxury which the solid citizen thinks of acquiring. It is sacrificed to every corporal necessity, to every whim, to every desire for warmth and snugness. The poor man has almost to be paid for setting his windows open, or allowing his sewerage to be drained away. Some of the Sheffield filers, whose business reduces their lives to an average hardly above thirty years, refuse to allow their fraternity to wear magnetised masks, which would make the employment healthy, because as it is so much higher wages are earned. Liberty is treated in the same way by all persons who are engaged in trade, or in otherwise making their fortunes. Freedom is not the object of any unmixed and disinterested passion, except among a limited number of the most refined and most educated spirits of the age. It is their task to gain the sympathies of the people for liberty, not by setting it forth in its abstract nakedness, formless and impalpable, but in the strongly marked and solid forms of religious liberty,—the liberty of purse, of person, of the press, of the platform, of trade, of teaching, of tippling,—of any thing, in short, whose existence is prized by one party and assailed by another. Nay, even the choice spirits who are the natural leaders in a struggle for liberty, those refined and cultivated men who alone can contemplate and love liberty for itself, even their power is indefinitely augmented by hugging to their hearts some one or more of those objects which are capable of moving the passions, and of rousing party spirit. We will not deny, then, that the parliamentary leaders who secured to us our liberties by the *Declaration of Rights* and by the *Grand Remonstrance* were religious enthusiasts, even fanatics. We will not deny that their fanaticism and enthusiasm were the most powerful levers to heave their stagnant powers into action, and to rouse them to fight for liberty. But we absolutely deny the necessary connection between the struggle for liberty and the peculiar form of religion that those men professed. During the struggle many of them went off to America to secure there the liberties which they despaired of obtaining in England. Cromwell himself, at the close of the debate on the *Grand Remonstrance*, told Lord Falkland, that if the vote had gone against them, he and many other honest men he knew would have sold all they had that very morning, and never have seen England more. The pilgrim fathers of New England were the very type of the

ruck of the patriots of the Rebellion. And the liberties which they founded in America are therefore a type of the liberties which they desired for England; and this liberty was, freedom for Puritanism and Puritans, coupled with the severest restrictions on the liberties of every one who did not obey without questioning that narrow rule; so far had the objects which gave enthusiasm to their passion for liberty distorted their affections, and obscured their intellectual conception of liberty itself.

The real champions of liberty at that period were, we fear, men of a sceptical turn of mind. Like Henry IV. of France, or Barneveldt in the Netherlands, the men who sowed the seeds of the struggle for constitutional liberties in England were persons of any thing but orthodox views in the estimation either of Protestants or of Catholics. Men like Selden directed the current of the forces which they found in action. If the force of Puritanism had really been directed by Puritans, and had resulted in founding an ideal Puritanical state, England would have groaned under an iron despotism, and a contemptible system of *surveillance* and *garde à vue* (we are obliged to use French words, because the humanity of the English language retains no equivalent terms) to which the police systems of Naples and Berlin would have been mere bugbears. We should have been forced to justify our daily bills of fare to the parochial presbytery by texts culled from Scripture, and to undergo severe penances for having buttons sewn on to our small-clothes on the Sabbath. Fortunately for us, however, the blind forces of Puritanism were directed by men who hated and despised Puritanism in their hearts, and who took good care that its offspring should in nowise resemble the parent,—if we are forced to admit any such relation between Puritanism and liberty.

But in the midst of this perturbed and tumultuous search for a partial freedom,—partial because it implied the subjection and slavery of all who opposed not liberty itself, but those opinions for which liberty was being sought,—there was at work a spirit quite hostile to the Puritanism which did the rough work of the struggle. Nothing can be more contrary to the puritanical spirit than the historical one. The Puritanism of that day had no history; its life depended on the negation of the vitality of any former kind of Christianity; it was the new way of the private spirit as opposed to that of public and traditional authority. But the political leaders of the party took good care not to apply their religious method to their essays in politics. Instead of appealing

to their private spirit, or to their own deductions from supposed first principles, like the French revolutionists, they drew all their weapons "from all the old laws and usages of the land, all the old ways and precedents of Parliament, all the ancient traditions of the rights of the three estates," stored up "in records, charters, old books, and parchment-rolls." Antiquarians, like Selden and Sir Simonds d'Ewes, became the mouthpieces of Parliament, and the chairmen of committees; and the "vouching of a record" "not only gave satisfaction, but ended a weighty and perplexed dispute." In politics the Puritans acknowledged and acted upon the very principle which they were so often in vain challenged to acknowledge in religion. In politics every thing was settled by an appeal to the fathers. In religion the fathers were no better than children, and no one had a right to question the illumination of the private spirit. "The Puritan," says Selden, "would be judged by the word of God: but if he would speak clearly he means himself, but he is ashamed to say so; and he would have me believe him before a whole Church that has read the word of God as well as he." Dr. Forster would fain perpetuate the Puritan's confusion of ideas. He would persuade us that we cannot separate the struggle for liberty "from the Protestant reformation, and its overthrow of Roman Catholic bondage;" and yet, in his preliminary essay, he traces the foundations of all our liberties to the efforts of our Catholic forefathers, and speaks of Archbishop Stephen de Langton as one who, "at a time apparently the most unfavourable for the growth of freedom, had impelled existing discontents, which but for him might have wasted themselves in casual conflict, to the establishment of that deep and broad distinction between a free and despotic monarchy of which our history never afterwards lost the trace."

We may leave to orthodox Anglicans the task of showing that their spirit is not hostile to liberty in an equal degree with the spirit of Popery; for this would follow from Dr. Forster's principles. He does not identify the love of liberty with Protestantism in general, but with Puritanism, though it of course suits his purpose to use the more general word, in order to touch the sympathies of a larger class of readers, and to disarm the opposition of those who would be offended at the exclusive claim that he ought to make for Puritanism. But if we pass over this consideration, as scarcely touching the substance of our argument, it is still worth while to inquire into the reasons that have made it possible for our writers thus to contrast the cause of liberty with the cause

of Catholicism, with which in its cradle it was so intimately allied, and to confound it with the cause of Protestantism and Puritanism, as if liberty was the child of the Reformation, inseparable from Protestantism, and incompatible with any other form of religion. The true cause, we fear, must be sought in the conduct of the English Catholics in the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. When the feudal system, with its seeds of freedom, fell to pieces, and the three kings, whom Lord Bacon calls the *tres magi*—Ferdinand of Spain, Lewis XI. of France, and Henry VII.—substituted kingcraft and personal prerogative for feudal and constitutional rights, the Catholics naturally acquiesced in the new system. In England, indeed, Henry lived by the Church; out of lawyers and churchmen exclusively he chose his friends and councillors; and the Church protected him, as it recently patronised Lewis Napoleon in the first years of his power. The falling-away of Henry VIII. and his successors from the Church did not bring the system of kingcraft into discredit, even though it was enlisted on the Protestant side. The Catholics never thought of recurring to the old constitution for protection, but simply imagined the substitution of one person for another on the throne. On the Continent the fidelity of the Spanish throne, which had succeeded in Charles V. to the Imperial crown of Germany, and of the French, decided the Church in allying herself with the new system of kingcraft, to protect her against the brutality of the revolution that called itself reformation. The intolerable persecution which the English crown inflicted upon the English Catholics was met, not by appeals to the prescriptive rights guaranteed by the English constitution, but by appeals to foreign princes, and by plans for finding some substitute for the heretical prince,—some one who would persecute Protestants instead of Catholics. When the Stuarts succeeded the Tudors, another party besides the Catholics became subject to the persecution of the Crown; and on the succession of the second Stuart monarch, with his Catholic queen, the Puritans found themselves even more disliked and disturbed than the Catholics. The effect of this change upon the Catholics was most unfortunate. Brought up to acquiesce in the established system of kingcraft, forward in confessing, like other courtiers, that it would be the height of presumption in private men to attempt to fathom the sacred mysteries of State, and therefore looking with mystic awe upon the sovereign as something akin to divinity, they looked for no higher guarantee of their liberties than the personal character and the per-

sonal favour of the king. Impoverished by seventy years of spoliation, they accepted with gratitude, not only the remissions with which Charles indulged them, but the rights of retaliation which he granted to them. They had smarted for three parts of a century under the most unjust laws that even a servile parliament could frame, in obedience to the impulses of terror and dislike. When prospects of liberty opened to them, instead of seizing the opportunity to render all such laws for the future quite impossible, they cheerfully acquiesced in the prolongation of the system, provided it was applied to other persons instead of themselves, and provided they were made the instruments of carrying it out. The Forest of Dean was broken up, and leases of it granted to Catholics, who were glad to indemnify themselves for a long spoliation by dividing the spoils of the national property. The celebration of Mass, though illegal, was connived at; but woe to the Protestant who declined attending at his parish-church because he thought it idolatry to bow to the altar. He was punished first by fine, and on a repetition of his refusal by transportation. The Catholics were singled out for special grants of monopolies. "They grew," says Clarendon, "not only secret contrivers but public professed promoters of, and ministers in, the most grievous projects; as that of soap, formed, framed, and executed by almost a corporation of that religion." Windebank, the Secretary of State, was their tool. They had a resident nuncio, under whom the most influential of their nobility, gentry, and clergy held secret convocations after the manner of a parliament, which levied taxes, secretly stored up arms and munitions, and almost obtained from the court a commission, under private conditions and instructions, for the raising of soldiers.

Thus were the Catholics of England impelled by their prejudices and resentments to enlist themselves under the banner of a failing cause, and to gain the eternal enmity of the side that was destined to win, and that ought to have secured their sympathies, because its political principles were an inheritance from the most illustrious statesmen and churchmen of old Catholic England, and were logically deducible from the system of Catholic morals. The Jesuits saw clearly enough at the beginning of the dispute that it would be their interest in England to join the Parliament against the King; but it was made impossible, not only by the feelings of the English Catholics, but by the interests of the order abroad. The Society could not afford to conciliate English parliamentarism, which had not yet gained the day,

by the sacrifice of its alliance with the regnant and triumphant Continental kingcraft. So the clear visions of the leading English Jesuits were as useless as the predictions of Cassandra, and they survive only in some obscure journals of houses of the Society, that may still be read in the Royal Library of Brussels. It was impossible that the English Catholics could at that time be forced by any amount of reasoning to join the Parliamentary side, though at the beginning of the controversy the Parliamentary leaders bid high for their support. But passions ran too high to allow the voice of reason to be heard. When Henrietta gave a gold chain that supported her Agnus to some poor women in distress at Exeter, the story ran that she was rebuked by her confessor "because they were heretics." The scorn of the Catholics for Puritanism forbade their making common cause with the Puritans in the most justifiable and most successful struggle for liberty which the world has ever beheld; and for that scorn they have since paid the penalty, in being the only considerable body systematically and persistently excluded from the liberties secured in the struggle.

It appears to us that this chapter of the History of England contains a lesson of deep import for the Italian and Continental Catholics of the present day. It shows that the security which Catholics require is not the personal favour of sovereigns, but the safeguard of habits, constitutions, and laws. It shows that a chivalrous personal devotion may sacrifice the liberty of religion, not of the present generation only, but of multitudes yet unborn. It teaches us not unduly to import domestic feelings into politics, not to be respecters of persons, but to be inflexible in demanding, even at the apparent sacrifice of personal gratitude and loyalty, the solid guarantee of universal laws and constitutional sanctions. We have no right to sacrifice the prospects of religion to our devotion to any family, however historical, even though its blood be "the blood of ages." Neither have we a right for the supposed good of religion to make ourselves the instruments or the supporters of a lawless tyranny, simply because for the present it favours us and oppresses only those whom we like to see depressed. For the time will come when either the arbitrary power, to save itself, will turn against us, or when it will be overthrown by its indignant subjects, and we shall be involved in its ruin. If the English Catholics under Charles I. had profited by the lessons of seventy years, and had refused to share in enforcing against others a system which they had found intolerable when applied to themselves, they would

either have obliged the king, seeing how weakly he was supported, to yield without an appeal to arms, or they would have shared the fruits of the Parliamentary victory, and secured liberty to the Church in England, while nearly a fourth part of England was yet Catholic. And the example of the Catholics in England might have encouraged the Catholics of the Continent to refuse to embark all their hopes in the boat that was manned and steered by the representatives of kingcraft and Cæsarism. The old alliance between Catholicism and the moribund *ancien régime* is the fruitful cause of most of the present griefs of the Church. If there was any where in the world a powerful independent body of Catholics, who had never been allied with that *régime*, who had ever been foremost in defending the liberties founded by Catholic churchmen and statesmen in mediæval times, and who were now the recognised champions of law and traditional freedom, the temporal position and hopes of the Church would be very different from what they are.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE POPES.—No. III.

THE Papal system of states gradually extended itself, till in the thirteenth century it reached its culminating point, when its great semicircle encompassed the states of the German Emperors. The Slaves and Magyars of the East had joined the Latin nations of the West, and the Sicilian Empire of the South was the connecting link between them. But after the thirteenth century the East began to detach itself. After the intimate alliance of King Prumysl Ottocar with Otho IV., the Pope recognised Bohemia as an independent principality, no longer subject to the Roman See; and the union of the Servians and Bulgarians with Rome only served to manifest their inconstancy and political imbecility. The East was in process of disintegration, in spite of the efforts of Hungary under the Arpades, and of the Anjous under Louis the Great, to become the centres of an Eastern Empire. A like effort had been also made by Prumysl Ottocar II., the celebrated adversary of Rodolph of Hapsburg; but he scorned to accept the German crown, and refused to lean upon Rome, and was in consequence destroyed by the Germans. Afterwards the Hapsburgs in Austria, the Anjous in Hungary, and the Luxemburgs in Bohemia, endeavoured to set up a great Eastern Empire, in which the Hapsburgs were

at last successful. This house owed its power chiefly to the Popes, and its influence over the election of the German kings to the divisions of the Germans; and though the Bull of Charles IV. abolished this interference in law, it still continued in fact.

The kingdom of Sicily continued to be the most important member, not only of the ecclesiastical system, but of all the political systems of Europe. From it the imperial system received its heaviest blow, and from it also the Papal system received that concussion which at length threw it out of gear, as we will relate as briefly as we can.

The Norman kingdom in Sicily was a prey to disputes more deadly than those which racked the English kingdom of William the Conqueror. William I. of Sicily, who had beheld three of his sons go to the grave before him, and had grown prematurely old through the dissipations of his youth, attempted to throw off the vassalage due to the Pope, and thus caused Pope Adrian to form a coalition with the Byzantine and German Emperors against him, which reduced the Norman crown to its original condition. During the consequent disturbances William slew his own son, and was then succeeded by William II., his younger son. Under him the Normans once more endeavoured, but in vain, to subdue the Byzantine Empire. On this Henry of Hohenstaufen, son of Frederic Barbarossa, married Constanza, daughter of King Roger (1154), and the succession of the Norman kingdom was secured to their children (1185). But after the death of William II. the Normans altered the succession in favour of Count Tancred, the grandson of King Roger I., whom that monarch had disinherited out of hatred to his own son Roger, in favour of Tancred's uncle, William I. In 1189 the Sicilian Parliament recognised Tancred as king, and he was instituted by the Pope in 1190, and crowned at Palermo. In consequence the war of succession broke out, and was conducted with the utmost vehemence and perfidy by Henry IV., who had succeeded his father in the empire in 1190. But Henry's lineage, and the whole house of Hohenstaufen, were afterwards destroyed by the Germans, at least as tragically as they had destroyed the Norman line. We have a contemporary anticipation of the future of Sicily in the pages of Hugo Falcandus, the Norman historian. He had not much hope of it. The different nations settled there—Longobards, Greeks, Normans, Saracens, and Italians—had as yet found no common centre. The love of the Apulians for change, and their cowardice in the field, the quarrels of the Normans with the Saracens, and the fears of a Saracen insurrection, made the

prospect gloomy. But the historian was dead before his fears were accomplished.

After Tancred had been acknowledged in Sicily and Apulia, Roger, Count of Adria, called in King Henry. But the first expedition of the Germans was unsuccessful, and the Count of Adria was defeated at Ascoli. And when Henry, after he had become emperor, put in his wife's claims, he found Naples too strong for him, and was obliged to retreat. Constanza herself fell into Tancred's hands, but was left free to rejoin her husband; and the Germans, overcome both by generosity and by arms, were forced to evacuate the kingdom. And now the Italian policy of the Popes came clearly to light. The prospect of the union of the crown of Lower Italy with the power that ruled the central and upper provinces, and that wore the crowns of Lombardy, Germany, and Arles, necessarily caused great uneasiness for the fate of Italy, and particularly of Rome, and for the liberty of the Church; and the actual accomplishment of this union under Henry VI. led to the enunciation of the fixed principle that the union of the imperial crown with the vassal crown of Sicily was unlawful, and that every effort must be made to prevent the prolongation of such a state of things. Frederic Barbarossa was meditating the conquest of Sicily in 1162, and made large promises to the Genoese in case of its success. In 1164 he sold to a Genoese the crown of Sardinia for 40,000 silver marks, and also sold it to Pisa for 13,000 golden lire. When the expedition against Sicily was really put in hand, an imperial patent from Gelnhausen secured to Pisa one half of the harbours and territories of Palermo, Messina, Salerno, and Naples. Luckily for Henry Tancred died, February 20, 1194, a short time after his eldest son Roger, and both were buried in one grave. Tancred's younger son, William, who succeeded him, was under the regency of his mother, Sibylla. The kingdom was split by dissenting factions, and just at this moment Henry obtained the sinews of war by the ransom paid by the English for the liberation of King Richard of the Lion-heart. Henry proceeded in person to Genoa, and purchased the assistance of the republic by promising to it Syracuse and the Val di Noto, and declaring that when he had the island he would only keep the honour and title, and leave all the profits to the Genoese. "As for me, I cannot remain there with my Germans, but you and your successors will reside there, and the kingdom will belong more to you than to me."

But after Messina had fallen, he put off fulfilling his promises till he should also have Palermo; and after Palermo

had surrendered, he could not do so till the Genoese ambassadors had received full powers; and when this also was done, "Know ye," he said, "that I shall give you nothing in the kingdom of Sicily, nor shall you share its ownership with me, so you need not take any trouble about the possession of it. But if you will undertake an expedition against the King of Aragon" (Alphonso II., whose daughter Constantia was afterwards the first wife of King Frederic II.), "I will transfer his dominion to you, and it shall be wholly yours." This gives us a clue to the resolution of Alphonso III. to place the crown of Aragon under the protection of the Pope. The Genoese aided in the conquest of Naples, Salerno, and Messina. Tancred's crown, with his son and his widow, fell into the power of the Hohenstaufen. Tancred's noble conduct towards Constanza had merited a similar treatment for his own family; but the Emperor put them on trial for life or death, December 25-30, 1194. King William was blinded and otherwise mutilated, and imprisoned at Kohenems, near Bregenz, where he died, probably in 1198. His mother and sister were incarcerated in Alsace; the bodies of his father and brother were torn from their grave and beheaded; the Norman grandees were mutilated, buried or burnt alive; the kingdom given up to the Germans; and then proclamation was made that, by the endeavours of the Emperor, Sicily was brought into a better state. After this Henry returned to Germany, to change the elective monarchy into an hereditary one. The electors had already vested the succession in the imperial house, when an insurrection broke out in Sicily. The Pope excommunicated the haughty prince who respected neither right nor breeding. Henry hastened to Italy, and his path was deluged with blood; Constanza herself rose against him, and was thrown into prison. At last the tyrant caught a fever at the siege of Castro Giovanni, and died at Messina, September 28, 1197, aged thirty-two. His only son, Frederic II., heir of Sicily in right of his mother, had been recognised as king by the German princes in 1196, but he was now to lose both crowns. Duke Markwald, Henry's most faithful follower, was ready to swear that Frederic was not his son. The boy's own uncle, Philip, became a candidate, first for the German, and then for the Italian crown. It was entirely to the Pope that Frederic owed his life, his liberty, and the kingdom of Sicily. We have already related how he and his family perished.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen the empire sank lower than ever, while the French power was continually developing in Italy. And now, quite unexpectedly, a blow was struck in

Sicily which convulsed all the south of Christendom, and gave its policy an entirely new turn. March 30, 1282, witnessed the Sicilian Vespers, and the revolt of the kingdom from Charles of Anjou. When all the Sicilians had followed the example of Palermo, and had murdered all the French in the island, the chiefs of the rebellion unfurled the banner of St. Peter; and it was when the Roman Peter refused to help them, that they turned instead to the more mundane Peter of Aragon. Pope Martin IV. declared in favour of the King of Naples, the vassal of the Roman See, and against the tributary King of Aragon, Peter III., whom he deposed in 1284, giving Aragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, to that pretender to so many crowns, Charles of Valois, second son of Philip III., King of France. The three crowns were to remain for ever separated from France, Castile, and England, and to remain with Charles and his descendants, who were required to swear fealty to the Pope, and to pay him annually 500*l.* as quit-rent. Sicily was to be reconquered by Charles of Anjou, as well as Aragon, against which the Christian world was invited to aid the French arms by a crusade. But both undertakings failed; so that from the Sicilian Vespers dates the beginning of the dissolution of the political system of the Popes, as well as the cessation of the crusades to the East. All the maritime states in the Spanish and Italian basin of the Mediterranean were overwhelmed with the Sicilian flood. The strife was bloody; but Naples failed to conquer Sicily, and France to overcome Aragon. King Pedro died in the midst of the struggle, and his successor, Alphonso III., took possession of the crown of Aragon at Saragossa, with the words, "I accept the crown, neither from the Church, nor against her." But when the Papal institution of the sovereign was left out, the Cortes united against him, and compelled him to recognise the privileges of the parliament, and to swear not to violate the constitution. Thus Alphonso in ceasing to be subject to the Pope, in 1288, became subject to the Cortes.

All efforts to isolate the Sicilians, or to gain them over to Naples, had hitherto been frustrated. But Pope Boniface VIII. was not discouraged. At a large congress of princes at Rome, he instituted the former King of Sicily, James, brother and successor of Alphonso III., as King of Corsica and Sardinia, paying an annual tribute of 3000 silver marks; James became Gonfaloniere of the Roman See; but after the extinction of his legitimate heirs, he engaged in 1297 to subject to the crown of Naples the island of Sicily, which had recognised first Don Pedro, then himself, and then

his brother Frederic, as king. All this was bargained for on the assumption that the Sicilians and their King Frederic of Aragon would submit to the arrangement. This was far from being the case; a fearful struggle ensued, till, by the treaty of Caltabillotta, in 1303, Frederic of Aragon was acknowledged as King of "Trinacria" for life. He married Eleonora, granddaughter of Charles of Anjou, and promised to take the oath of allegiance to Rome, and to pay quit-rent. The full title of King of Sicily was to remain with the House of Anjou, and the Roman treaty regarding Corsica and Sardinia was to be maintained. And now for the first time the East had discovered the great importance of Sicily. The war had lasted twenty years; four great sea-fights, two great battles by land, and many minor engagements, had been won by the Sicilians; three invading armies had been driven out of the island, Syracuse and Messina had successfully resisted the besieging armies, and two great naval battles had been lost. The tithes of almost all Europe, the treasure of the Popes and of the House of Anjou, the contributions of the Italian Guelfs, and 300,000 ounces of gold, which the Roman See had borrowed, had been spent, and yet the island remained unconquered. The Christian East had been lost, the power of the Palæologi at Constantinople had been confirmed, the Aragonese had gained a footing on the coast of Sicily, the wearisome war between England and France had broken out, and a still greater calamity was impending—the removal of the Papal See from Rome to Avignon.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century Frederic II. had styled himself "German King, by the grace of God and of the Roman See." Towards the end of it King Albert I. acknowledged to Boniface VIII. that both the temporal and spiritual swords belonged to the Pope, who also laid claim to supreme power (*summum imperium*) over Hungary; whilst in the West Edward I. of England and Philip IV. of France refused to accept the mediation of the Pope in their quarrels, except in his private capacity. To the Popes the greatness of the French kings was chiefly due; and in return the House of Anjou reduced Rome, Central Italy, and even the College of Cardinals, to dependence; the Roman chair had already been removed to Aquila and Naples when Boniface VIII. liberated it from the "Neapolitan captivity." When the same Pope tried to break the pride of the French, they suddenly attacked him at Anagni, took him prisoner, and liberated him only a few weeks before his death in Rome. After the short pontificate of Benedict IX., King Philip procured the election of a French Pope, Clement V., who removed the

Papal residence to Avignon. During the whole of the fourteenth century the government of the Church remained in the hands of the French; and when the chair was restored to Rome, the French cardinals commenced the schism of 1378, which for forty years produced such lamentable confusion in the Church.

France had kept herself out of both the imperial and the papal systems of states, and now she came out in mediæval history as a great power, rounded off her frontiers on the south and east, annexed Navarre, Toulouse, the Lyonnaise, &c.; and entangled the Church, which had given her the means for winning all this, in an iron net, whose meshes became ever narrower and more rigid. The same weakness which showed itself in the general affairs of the Church became apparent also in the Mediterranean states. Benedict XI. confirmed the donation of his predecessor to James III. of Aragon. But then James emancipated his son Don Pedro, as Frederic II. had done to his son Henry, perhaps not without an eye to the German crown, which could never, according to the treaty, be united with that of the Aragonese island. Hence the claims on Sardinia could not be vindicated before 1323, when the Infante Alphonso took from Pisa the greater part of the island. But the Genoese would not cede their portion, and in reprisal took Corsica from the Aragonese in 1347, who in return united the Balearic Isles to their crown, which had in 1319 been aggrandised by the union of the Cortes of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. In 1328 Alphonso IV. was forced to swear not to alienate the crown lands on any pretence; and when he did so, his son Don Pedro IV. rose against him, and Alphonso died in the contest, 1336. At his coronation Don Pedro seized the crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Saragossa, and put it on his own head, with the words, "On no account will I be a vassal of the Roman See." This was in 1336; but in 1365 Pope Urban V. compelled him to render homage, at least for Sardinia and Corsica.

Meanwhile Charles II. of Anjou was succeeded on the throne of Naples and Sicily by his third son, Robert, Duke of Catalonia, who was crowned King of Sicily at Avignon, by Pope Clement V., August 26, 1309. At the same time Frederic, King of "Trinacria," was soliciting for the title of King of Jerusalem, James of Aragon for the county of Pisa and the Isle of Elba, Charles of Valois for the Byzantine Empire, and Charles Martel, of the House of Anjou, for Hungary. To counteract this preponderance of the Romanic race, King Henry VII. of Germany, and after him King

Lewis of Bavaria, attempted to set up the German Empire again ; but King Frederic of Trinacria took the opportunity of King Henry's Roman expedition to attack King Robert of Sicily ; he assumed the title of King of Sicily, and caused his son Don Pedro to be crowned, to whom he secured the succession in spite of all the censures of the Pope ; while for his younger son John he obtained the principalities of Athens and Neopatra. But the dispute for the succession continued during the life of Pedro (1343), and of his son Lewis (1355), and up to the time of Frederic III., Lewis's brother, who declared himself and his successors vassals of Queen Joan of Naples (the granddaughter of King Robert), and appealed to Pope Gregory XI. to grant them the kingdom of Trinacria. The Pope, who now maintained his rights to both kingdoms, that of Naples (the continental Sicily), and that of Trinacria (the island), fixed the formula of the oath of allegiance for Frederic, entailed the kingdom of Trinacria, defined the contingencies on which the crown would revert to the Roman See, enacted the liberty of the Church, the perpetual severance of Trinacria from Lombardy, Tuscany, and Germany, and the mode and duration of the dependence of Trinacria upon the crown of Naples. This was in 1372 ; two years later Frederic took the prescribed oath at the hands of the legate, and was thereupon crowned king in 1375. On his death in 1377, his daughter Mary was protected by Gregory XI. against her cousin, the mighty King Pedro IV. of Aragon. But when this protection failed through the schism, she was forced to marry Prince Martin of Aragon, Don Pedro's grandson ; thus Sicily was united to Aragon, and then the Aragonese line of kings became extinct, and the second line (that of Castille, under Ferdinand XI.) obtained the kingdom of Aragon. The second prince of this house, Alphonso V., was adopted by Queen Joan II. of Sicily (Naples), and so obtained the crown of that country. He united Sicily and Sardinia to Aragon ; while, with the Pope's consent, he bequeathed Naples to his natural son, Ferdinand I., and his successors, from 1458 to 1551, after which time Naples was united to the Spanish crown by Ferdinand the Catholic, through whom it descended to the House of Hapsburg. Of the old feudal system there was not much more left than the remittance of the white bill. The House of Bourbon, which every where promoted this revolution, discontinued even this expression of homage.

Whilst thus the political system of the Popes continued to exist in the south quite up to the modern period, divested, however, of its old power and privileges, and only surviving

in forms which were abandoned in the eighteenth century, it expired much earlier in the north-west. Yet it is noticeable that the union of Scotland and England attempted by Edward I. met with decided opposition from Pope Nicholas IV., "because Scotland also belonged to the Roman See from old times." King Edward would not mount his father's throne as a vassal of the Roman See, and allowed eight years to elapse before he would pay the Roman tribute; he soon left it off, however, so that in 1316 the arrears amounted to 24,000 marks sterling. Edward's continual wars furnished the pretext for this neglect. The weak Edward II. paid it again, and applied to Pope John XXII. for a second coronation, which he hoped would help him to the Empire of the East. He had been told of a kind of oil which came from the Blessed Virgin, who had given it to the Apostle St. Thomas, which had that special privilege, and with that he wished to be anointed. But with all his weak wishes for the Eastern Empire he lost the crown of England. Urban V., who endeavoured with all his might to reëstablish the political system of the Popes, asked Edward III. to pay the English tribute, which had been dormant since 1333. But the wars with France emancipated England from its former dependence. Moreover, the rival Popes during the schism were reduced to a state of dependence on the princes who embraced their respective parties; yet in the fourteenth century the Papal system seemed still on the increase. Thus Henry, Duke of Halicz, Glogau, and Posna, and heir of Poland, declared himself the immediate subject of the Roman See, and also expressed a hope that if any German emperor tried to exercise any jurisdiction over him, the Pope would defend him against it. In the same year Wladislaus, King of Poland, acknowledged that Ruthenia (*de qua annua tributa consueverunt Papæ percipere*) and Poland were both tributary to Rome. King Robert of Scotland demanded the authority of the Pope for his coronation, in order to secure Scotland against Edward III. Pope John granted it in favour of Robert and his successors, and delegated the performance of the ceremony to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, or, in default, to the Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1331 the Dukes of Pomerania transferred their principality to the Roman See as a fief, like Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. We find vestiges of the extension of the Papal system even to Norway.

In 1340 Africa again invaded Spain; the Moors came over with wives and children, bag and baggage, to establish themselves in the peninsula. This was the fifth and last

invasion of Spain, and was victoriously repulsed in the great battle of Tarifa. Spain might now, if she could keep free from internal dissensions, assume the offensive, and meditate the conquest of Africa. In consequence of this victory a new principality, subject to the Roman See, was formed by Pope Clement VI. in 1344, under the title of the "happy islands, situated in the sea Oceanus, between the south and the west." The Pope gave it to the Castilian prince, Lavis, of the family of Ferdinand de la Cerda, son of King Alphonso X. and of the daughter of Lewis IX., who with his descendants had been excluded from the crown of Castile. The prince accepted the fief at an annual tribute of 400 florins of good and pure gold, and was crowned and took the oath of allegiance November 28, 1344. But the new principality, whose inhabitants—if it had any—were Mussulmans, was to be established by force. But before this could be done Alphonso, King of Portugal, complained that these islands, which belonged to Portugal, and for the conquest of which he had equipped a squadron before the Moorish invasion took place, had been given to a Castilian prince. The Pope in reply called upon the Kings of France, Sicily, Aragon, Castile,—the King of Portugal refused,—the Genoese, and the Dauphin of Vienne, to aid in conquering the new principality. But the five-kings' battle at Cressy, August 26, 1346, where the Kings of France, Navarre, Bohemia, and Majorca were conquered by the King of England, put a stop both to the diversion which the French and Bohemians were to make in Syria against the Ottomans, who were sweeping down upon Europe, and to the erection of the new principality on the coast of West Africa. It remained a mere diplomatic creation. Afterwards a Norman knight, John of Betancour, received these islands from Henry III. of Castile, who now called himself king.

The little that remained of the Papal system was more and more eclipsed in the fifteenth century. In the apostolical kingdom of Hungary, Matthias, King of the Magyars, would not leave to Pope Sixtus IV. even the patronage of prebendal stalls—such a change had come over Europe since the great schism of 1378. "Your holiness may rest assured," he wrote, "that the Hungarian nation will sooner change the double cross, which is the banner of our kingdom, into the triple cross, than allow the prebends and prelacies, which belong to the rights of the crown, to be bestowed by the Apostolic See."

The Hungarian double cross of Rome was not changed for the triple one of Byzantium, but the crescent soon

triumphed there after the Magyar had ceased to regard any thing as higher than the interests of his own kingdom. So England also, when she secluded herself more and more from foreign connection, fell into that ecclesiastical Anglicanism which is foolish enough to call a national establishment in contradiction with itself by the grand name of Universal and Catholic.

Communicated Articles.

NOTES ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AUSTRIA.

It is idle to hope that Austria can remain as she is. There are events in history which are not the acts of man's will, but the products of a natural process, which *grow* but are not *done*; for which, therefore, no particular person is responsible, and to which the ideas of right and wrong, though easily applicable in words, will never be found to apply in fact. In the life of mankind, there are active forces which are not moral; there is a physical necessity which goes its way, regardless of ethical considerations. Nations and families, subjects and rulers, live by physical laws, and are prone to disease, madness, exhaustion, decline, extinction, as well as to progressive increase and improvement. Under the pressure of these physical necessities, it is lost labour to declaim about law; and those who cannot or will not understand, and distinguish when the matter before them is natural, and when moral, only exhibit a weakness and folly such as they are willing to deride in the Legitimists of France. Neither can these natural tendencies be arrested by the expedients of state-craft. Justice is not so easily satisfied. Providence allows the evil to continue till the measure is full, and then exacts the penalty. It only makes the lesson more solemn if the doomed representative of the iniquitous system should be the best of his race, should be really willing to repair the unrighteousness of his forefathers; for when the guilt is not individual, but collective and traditional, poisoning the state from generation to generation, the destruction of a few guilty individuals would be but a poor lesson; the hard necessity of the unchangeable Nemesis is best exhibited for the warning of all tyrants who have any regard for their posterity, when it seizes the innocent victim, and, in its stern reprisals, crushes his bones for the crimes of his fathers.

I fear that these hard sayings may be found applicable to Austria. Its government, though called paternal, was for generations a revolutionary despotism; and the just resistance of Brabant to the laws of Joseph II. was only an example of what would have been equally justifiable in the other provinces. The old system was hatefully oppressive, and the immorality of its officials and their contempt for religion have survived its alteration. Thus, for the 54,000 Protestants who served in the Austrian army there was last year but a single chaplain. Though the suppression of religious orders and the oppression of the Church are things of the past, the results continue. The evil example of the nobility is as scandalous as ever. The Archduke Charles was epileptic; but so was Cæsar. The Emperor Joseph was a well-meaning and active tyrant; Francis I. was a slow, repressive, suspicious despot, fearful of progress, of improvement, of intellect, and of change, cold-hearted and narrow-minded, though not stupid; the ex-Emperor Ferdinand is half an idiot and one or two of his brothers are no better; and Francis Joseph himself has exhibited no superiority. These things lead, by a kind of physiological necessity, to changes, whether in the way of punishment or in the way of remedy, but either of them equally disastrous to existing interests.

Since the outburst of 1848, Francis Joseph has had ten years to try if haply he might be allowed to heal the wounds of the empire. It was, of course, a hazardous experiment. Every great change in the political life of nations has led to a change of dynasty, or the Stuarts and the Bourbons might still be seated on their ancestral thrones. The half-aristocratic rule of the Rurics lasted in Russia until absolutism and servitude were established; and we have yet to see whether the despotism of the Romanoffs can survive the radical changes of Alexander II. But in Austria the danger is still greater. It is not a nation, but an assemblage of nations, brought together by no internal or external necessity, but by the accidental results of imperial marriages and dynastic wars; it is the work of the dynasty, and its existence is scarcely conceivable apart from the family of the Hapsburgs.

Since 1848, the internal perils of Austria are generally to be attributed to unconstitutional parties, who aim, not at the reformation, but at the destruction, of the state, and who therefore become more powerful and more dangerous by every concession. For, as Fiévée says, it is only a strong power that can be conciliatory without endangering itself, or can consider objections without seeming to give up its principles as doubtful. These parties are (1) the Hungarian

Separatists ; (2) the advanced Liberals, consisting chiefly of Jews, who are not more anxious for the advance of their opinions and the advantage of their interests than for a vengeance that shall recompense them for their long disabilities, even at the price of a national collapse ; (3) the Italian party, who desire a united and independent Italy ; (4) the Panslavist party, strong in Bohemia and Galicia, who wish for one great Sclavonic empire or confederation. It is clear that the Austrian Government, in order to maintain its own existence, must wage unconditional war with all these separatists, and must consider any understanding with them to be unattainable. This was the idea of Bach, who was the soul of the Austrian policy since 1848. He aimed at the entire unity of the monarchy, and made no concessions either to the various separatist parties, or to the aristocratic Tories who desired the restoration of things to their state before 1848. But the real errors of Bach's policy raised up against him elements of opposition, which, uniting with these separatists, soon brought him to a stand-still.

Bach's plan was to make the empire one in every sense. It was to be administered by the same laws throughout, and all its resources were to be developed to the utmost, and brought as much as possible within the sphere of the state's action. The uniform legislation was to be backed up and strengthened by a system of public instruction, high enough, but uniform for provinces five hundred years apart from each other in civilisation and progress, and by the favour of the Church, which he proposed to purchase by the restoration of her freedom. The development of national resources was to be attained by free trade, abolition of the feudal system and of mercantile restrictions, and by a grand system of railways. The defects of this intelligent plan were, that it was founded neither on the old traditions, nor on the concessions of 1848. It confirmed the abolition of all old privileges, all mediæval reminiscences, while it destroyed the great objects of the revolution, provincial independence and provincial parliaments. The system, therefore, could only enlist a narrow circle of adherents, attracted by the desire of power for the state, of wealth for the nation, and of liberty for the Church. The rest were offended by its sacrifice of the very notion of legitimacy and historical continuance, in not professing either to uphold the new institutions of 1848 or to reform the old. It had no national historical basis ; its instruments, therefore, were not traditions or habits or aspirations, but only a well-organised bureaucracy. Popularity could not be expected till time had developed the benefits of the legislation ; but the building of railways and

the execution of the Concordat was an affair of years. The progress has been enormous in the development of the commercial resources of the country; vast sums have been embarked in speculation; the funded capital of the nation has increased; and the amount raised by taxation has nearly doubled. But these benefits have been obscured by the dishonesty and financial incapacity of the minister Bruck. If he contributed to enrich the nation, he also brought the currency into a state of confusion, from which there seems to be no escape. The charges of corruption which led to his fall are insignificant in comparison to what might have been brought against his former doings. In the affair of the sale of the Austrian railways to a foreign company, he agreed, for a consideration, that all the iron should be furnished by foreign contractors,—an arrangement by which his country lost 5,000,000*l.* The judges who investigated the conduct of suspected persons after the crash traced many a thread to the finance minister, who resisted their claims to examine him, till his dismissal from his post enabled them to require his attendance. His credit had been lost by his raising the national loan for 50,000,000*l.*, which he made more compulsory than voluntary, to 11,000,000*l.* more than the sum authorised. When this was discovered, in the autumn of 1859, after the war, a new loan became necessary, and Bruck went into the market for 20,000,000*l.*, but only got 7,000,000*l.*, so greatly was the public credit shaken. After Bruck became minister, he did not cease his connection with the Trieste houses, with whom he had been in business. When the great Vienna bankers, Arnstein and Eskeles, ruined by the war, asked him for help, he gave them hopes, and delayed their fall for two days, during which he telegraphed to his Trieste friends to secure their deposits; when this was done, he told the Vienna bankers that he could do nothing for them. The impossibility of confidence and security under the rule of such a minister occasioned the failure of the attempts to raise the material condition of Austria.

The same causes have made the Concordat, so far, a failure. It was originally a purely political measure. Felix Swarzenberg, who, in October 1848, a time of great political stress, undertook the formation of a new ministry, and exacted from all his colleagues their agreement to the introduction of the Concordat, was notoriously the most dissolute man among Austrian officers and diplomatists, and lived more like a Turk than a Christian. His religious sentiments certainly had no part in the resolution. It was one of his methods for enforcing unity. But the Concordat was sure to cause

more divisions than it healed if it dissatisfied the masses of Josephine Catholics and Protestants; these would only be satisfied by being allowed the same amount of liberty as was granted to the Church. But this would completely annihilate the benefits expected from the Concordat, one of which was to be the destruction of the independent influence of the Hungarian clergy; for another independent body of Protestant clergy would be set up in place of the Catholics. Thus the original sin of the measure, the insincerity of its first authors, has avenged itself on them. It has been a source of divisions, it has confirmed the Hungarian Protestant opposition, and has hitherto done little good to religion. Not that I question the sincerity of the Emperor; all that has been in his power, the appointment of Bishops, has been most admirably performed; and if this is the only lasting result of the first twelve years of his reign, the Church will have gained not a little by him. But our sympathy with him as the giver of the Concordat must be modified by the patent fact that he was deficient either in intelligence, or in will, or in power, to carry out the system of which it ought to have been only a part. But now, while he recognised the right of the Church to define her own doctrines, the statute which he gave the Protestants made the conservation of *their* doctrines an affair of state. No doubt Protestants in other Catholic countries admit the sovereign to be head of the Church; no doubt also the reservations of Francis Joseph are good for the preservation of what Protestants still retain of sound doctrine. But is it rational that a prince who claims to be arbiter of doctrine should also talk of religious liberty? Is it consistent that, while he lets the Catholics rule themselves by their own institutions, he should impose an external authority on the Protestants? Though this external authority appeared so natural, that most of the Lutherans accepted it, and the German conservative Protestants were in raptures at the check which they hoped it would give to rationalism; though the measure was generous, and greatly to the benefit of the Protestant religion,—it was quite inconsistent with the principle of the Concordat, which is self-government. Farther, when once a deep and prolific principle is admitted, it cannot be confined in an arbitrary manner; when once its claim is allowed in the instance of a religious body, not only other religious bodies will prefer their claims, but it will demand an application to purely secular matters. The principle of self-government implies decentralisation, and the localisation of government; but for this Bach did nothing, whatever were the reasons that prevented him. For ten

years nothing was done; and when at last a commencement was made, it was useless, because it ought from the first to have run parallel with efforts at concentration; but the latter principle had won so long odds, that the struggles of the other tendency appeared only irregularities and exceptions. Perhaps, however, it was not in the Emperor's design to carry out the principle of self-government; and if it was, men's public life is weighed by what they do, not by what they wish to do. I have always hoped that the Concordat was the declaration of a great principle, and not merely an insulated act: as an insulated act, even if it is carried out, it is worthless, because it is only a manifestation of feeling, of religious attachment, or of mere interest, and not of principle; and therefore stands alone, unsupported, insecure, untrustworthy. We see in France the insecurity of institutions when their liberty depends on arbitrary will. Sometimes Lewis Napoleon performs an act to gain the clergy; then he does something to gain the republicans. Now he coaxes the Catholics, and now he oppresses them to make friends in another quarter. If religion gains by this, no thanks to him. In the same way, the very reasons which led to the Austrian Concordat, when modified by a change of policy or any other external causes, might naturally and logically upset it. There is no safety unless the Concordat is part of a system, founded on principle, and standing or falling with other liberties. Alone it cannot help to save the state.

Though Francis Joseph restored self-government to the Church, he never seemed to have any conception of the political application of the idea; he never thoroughly understood the signification of representative institutions, and the incompatibility of any thing else, in the long-run, with a civilised and progressive people. *In the long-run*, I say, because though such institutions are not always necessary, they are the test and token of freedom. The free classes can only hold their own by self-government; that is, by some kind of participation in the general government. In early times only certain classes were free, and then the kings surrounded themselves with a council of those classes, the nobles, and the clergy. But as history advanced and freedom developed, other classes rose by degrees, first to social freedom, then to political liberty, and so to political power. This produced in various places three, and sometimes four estates, according to the general law which guides the adaptation of the state to society through the social organism itself. Now, however, we often see it happen, that though society is an organism, the state is a mere machine;

not fitted on to society like a glove, but rather compressing it like a thumbscrew; not growing out of society like its skin, but put upon it from without like a mould, into which society is forced to pour itself. But clearly the state could never grow out of society as its expression and fruit, unless society were organised and distributed into distinct classes and corporations, each enjoying social power in its own sphere; where this distribution is wanting, and the social mass comprehends no moral persons, but only physical units, society is atomic; and the state cannot be an organism, an expression or organ of society, but is supreme and absolute, whatever its forms and constitutional pretences may be. Under these circumstances representative institutions are a delusion and a snare, as they were in France from 1815 to 1848. In this manner the capacity for real representative government is a test of the maturity and health of society. Austria may be expected to have that capacity, for her social state is not in the least atomic; she has every where a great noblesse, and in Hungary a wealthy clergy.

The late ministry, of which Goluchowski was a member, was one of concessions made by fear to strength, not by reason to right. It gradually gave up all the policy of Schwarzenberg and Bach, and restored the critical independence of Hungary in such a way as to give Hungary a vast preponderance in the empire. In the first place, the Hungarians got every thing by clamour; the Germans, who were tolerably silent, obtained much less. Their provinces did not receive a collective representative government, but each territory was to have its separate provincial estates. Thus the Hungarian Diet represented a far greater power than any of the others; it was as if, while Ireland had a collective parliament at Dublin, England were to have a separate parliament for each state of the Heptarchy. Collectively England would be the stronger nation; but each provincial English parliament would be feebler than the Irish. That was the first great error in the constitutions. The next was that—to judge from the constitution of Tyrol, the only one I yet know in detail—the number of representatives in the estates is too small. They will have no independent authority, will inspire no confidence, will be managed by two or three men, and will be open to corruption. This was the very disease that destroyed the old system of estates in Germany. Few people cared to be present, so that the power subsided into the hands of the few, who were easily managed by the ministers; and thus the whole institution lost its vitality. The Tyrolese are any thing but

grateful for what has been given them; the measure does not compensate for the debased state of the currency. Their language is often perfectly ferocious against the government, and they curse their "folly" in 1809 in resisting their union with Bavaria.

But neither is Hungary at all reconciled by the great concessions made to it. In fact, the dissatisfaction and disaffection is rather increased than diminished, because the concessions are only interpreted to be a proof of fear. Concessions made at the last moment, and extorted by threats, never yet got any thanks. There is, so to say, no government party in Hungary. The great nobility, or magnates, lost most of their influence by the abolition of the feudal rights; and yet it was chiefly in favour of this declining body that the new system was contrived. The lesser nobles, who are enormously numerous, and the middle class, are for separation, and for the most part would prefer to belong to Russia. We may read in Görgei's memoirs how the plan was entertained in 1849, and how the Russians tried to make friends in the country by treating all who surrendered to them with signal courtesy. In spite of Nicholas's conservatism, they would never have put down the insurrection of 1849, except on account of their fears for Poland, excited by Kossuth, who surrounded himself with Bem, Dembinski, and other Polish refugees, and tried to extend the revolutionary movement into that country. But now the action of the Hungarian emigrants, Kossuth, Klapka, and company, counts for next to nothing in Hungary, and Russia is not likely to be drawn in to assist Austria again, except compelled to do so in self-defence. The opposition comes from the middle class and lower noblesse, men full of distrust of Austria and of crude political notions, burning with just hatred for the equally crude ideas and for the hard proceedings of German *employés*; and proud of their old constitution, which is as bad as it is old,—a mediæval ruin transplanted into a modern city-square. In 1848-9, Hungary was in arms for the Magyar interest; but the Croatian, Slavonic, and Roumanic populations were on the Austrian side. But now they are all as discontented as the Magyars. The centralising system, which was formerly exercised for the advantage of the Hungarian government, has of late been in the hands of the Austrians, and the sufferers have transferred their hatred to their new oppressors. On a late occasion, when there was a famine in Croatia, the Hungarians with wise generosity sent large supplies, and gained the people's hearts. And now the great movements which are taking place in the Danubian

provinces are against Turkey and Austria, and afford to the Hungarians an opportunity of forming a powerful eastern monarchy, if they separate from Austria. This may be the providential purpose of the grievous troubles of Austria on that side. The late ecclesiastical movement of the Bulgarians shows the importance of a strong power not hostile to Catholics having the command of the Lower Danube.

Another capital fault of Goluchowski's measures was, that they provided a new system without looking for new men to carry it out. The statute overthrew the intelligent but pedantic bureaucrats of Bach, who had succeeded the stupid bureaucrats of Metternich's time, and who were omnipotent and very unpopular. Yet they were to carry out the new system. Their cause was conquered, and yet by their instrumentality their employer expected to construct his new system. Those men whose moral influence in the temporary Reichsrath carried these concessions in spite of the resistance of ministers, though placed in offices of more or less importance, were not intrusted with the carrying out of the new system, which was left in the hands of the old opponents of all change. As might be expected from such unintelligent persons, they doled out their measures only as they were forced; while Hungary contemptuously carried off almost every thing, the Germans squeezed out mere dribbles, unwillingly conceded, and not a whole system,—a great statesmanlike measure to be carried out consistently. It was not a policy, nor the idea of a statesman; but only the surrender of as little as might be of popular demands to popular clamour. All that self-government gained, bureaucracy was to lose; but it by no means intended to lose any thing at all in substance.

The substitution of Schmerling for Goluchowski was a partial remedy for this capital fault. The new minister, who has played no public part for the last ten years, was Minister of the Interior in the National Assembly at Frankfort, and was the first parliamentary and administrative genius there. He predominated so completely in that great parliamentary assembly, that he is certainly able to understand, appreciate, and manage representative institutions. He is the right man for a new policy.

The external dangers of Austria lie partly on the side of Italy, partly on that of Prussia. As for Venetia, unless the war in the spring ends in a great victory, that province will be the source of infinite danger to the monarchy. Provision is being made for a desperate struggle: the fortifications that are being erected on the Adige and the Adriatic are

described as terrible, and the whole force of the empire will be poured into Italy and Croatia. The Confederation has waived its claim to the services of the Austrian contingent, amounting to 130,000 men, in case of war on the Rhine; this is the whole aid that is to be expected from Prussia; but though it is a great assistance to Austria, it argues not much generosity on the part of her rival. For if there is war on the Rhine, while Napoleon has 200,000 men in Italy, his fleet fully manned, and his fortresses on the Rhine and the Flemish frontier garrisoned, the Germans can make a very good fight without Austrian assistance, and Prussia will have the undisputed lead of the army of the Confederation. As Russia is opposed to the proceedings in Italy, it will not threaten the rear of the Austrians, and may even protect them against revolutionary movements; and the whole military force of the empire can be concentrated on the Drave and the Adige. Already the army in Italy and about the head of the Adriatic amounts to nearly 300,000 men; there is no disaffection in the Hungarian regiments, and the popularity of Benedek is immense. But the military system of Austria is wretched. The science of the officers is not to be compared to that of the Piedmontese; there is no good staff, nor any well-organised body of engineers; many of the officers are incapable, and others unable to speak the language of their soldiers. And there is among some of them a feeling that they are about to fight for what they are persuaded is a hopeless cause. If this was a common persuasion, no anticipations could be too gloomy for the future of Austria.

Whilst in Austria every thing smacks of decline and fall, the Prussians are full of lofty aspirations. The government is secure, and, in spite of the late police scandals, on the whole well administered and popular. There is some injustice, but no known corruption. The danger which menaces Germany on the Rhine, and the dismal condition of Austria, both play into the hands of Prussia; for the Germans, indignant at their helplessness, can only look to her to save them. A like result follows from the corruptions of several of the lesser states, and the consequent discontent of their subjects; from the democratic tendencies which remain from 1848, and from the Prussian intrigues. Any day a movement may break out in Central Germany, encouraged by the party of Gotha, justified in many minds by the imminence of the French danger, pioneered by the example of Italy, and half invited by the tardiness of the Prussian ministry to condemn what is going on there. German unity, moreover, is an older ideal than the unity of Italy; only the former is

historical. Italy from the sea to the Alps never at any time formed one state, and its possibility is all speculation and aspiration. But Germany was once one from the Somme to the Drave, and from Lyons to Königsberg, and the reminiscences are preserved in many traditional institutions and phrases. Every German knows that the misfortunes of his country, and its weakness in Europe, arose from the dismemberment of the Empire, the feebleness of the central power, and the rise of the great nobles to territorial independence. The unity of Germany is an aspiration that has once been realised; that is the aim of all patriots, and that has never been quite lost sight of as a hope or a regret. It was through the tendency to unity that in 1806 and in 1815 such numbers of independent sovereigns were swept away; that from more than 365 they have been reduced to 34. The notion of continuing in the same course is not a purely revolutionary idea, but an historical development of the reaction against the process of separation which went on during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

In case of a movement in favour of this idea taking place, Prussia, with its finances flourishing and its army in the best order, and supported by the patriotism of all Germany, is ready to intervene as the restorer of order, and to assume, quite naturally, the command over all the German troops. It will every where find many friends: almost all the Protestants, all the advanced liberals who are not yet democrats,—to make sure of whom Prussia is meditating a reaction against Catholics, and a withdrawal of some of the concessions, in imitation of the measures which the Prussian government has persuaded the Baden ministry to adopt, and in deference to the no-Popery agitation which has been lately commenced by the leading Protestant reviews against Catholic immunities as exaggerated and dangerous. All the left bank of the Rhine, in fear of becoming French, and unable to help itself, looks to Prussia. Even in Bavaria, the largest, most Catholic, and most Austrian of the lesser states, there is a powerful Prussian party, not only in Nuremberg and the Protestant towns, but at court, among the friends of the king, who has always been opposed to Austrian influence, partly because he studied at Berlin and has a Prussian wife, partly because he dislikes the clerical system as he supposes it to exist in Austria, and partly because he is so overshadowed by his great neighbour. It is in the more distant states, which are in no danger of annexation, that Austria is most popular; as with the old King of Wirtemberg, the Duke of Nassau, and the Grand-Duke of Darmstadt, whose brother

is one of the most popular commanders in the Austrian service. Among the Prussian influences we must not forget the newspapers in that interest that are largely paid by that government throughout Southern Germany, and the intrigues at the courts against the princes, for which incredible means are adopted, money being given to women to swear away the characters of Francis Joseph and of the King of Saxony. In Hesse Cassel, the worst governed state of Germany, a perpetual constitutional controversy is maintained: the Radical Constitution of 1831, being found incompatible with order, was abrogated in 1848, and another issued; and there is an endless agitation in favour of the restoration of the former, which is fed by Prussia, in hopes of finding an occasion of intervention. In Baden, the rejection of the Concordat was a Prussian manœuvre aimed against the throne of the Grand-Duke; and this breach of faith has quite alienated the Catholic population from him.

The Liberals now in power at Berlin are thus indifferent to all law, civil or international. The bulk of the literary men in Prussia, and in great part of Germany, as well as most of the Protestant interest, belongs to them. Their head is the Princess of Prussia, the Regent's wife, one of the most able and ambitious of living women. She prompted the king to accept the imperial crown when it was offered to him in 1848. She has made great efforts to conciliate the Catholics of Western Prussia, where she used to frequent the convents, and sometimes to shut herself up in one for a week, and, as was to be expected, found the Catholics good-natured enough to be duped by her demonstrations. Auerswald is her instrument in the ministry; and her policy, which carries away Schleinitz and Bethmann-Holweg, is the union of Germany under the Prussian sceptre. The policy of Radowitz, the great Catholic statesman from 1848 to 1850, was not very different. As for the Regent, he is a man of honour and good feeling, and desirous to act even chivalrously by Austria; but he is carried away by the party in power.

The Prussian Catholics, who are mostly Silesians and Rhinelanders, and so only Prussians since 1745 and 1815, do not desire the increase of Prussia, as they dread the Berlin system and its prevalence in Germany. But the most remarkable of its opponents are the strict Protestant party of the *Kreuzzeitung*, that was in power under the late king, but is now powerless;—aristocratic and conservative, like Burke, but more advanced than he;—when in power, not always just, especially to Catholics, and making use of corruption somewhat after the manner of Guizot;—high Protes-

tants, like the advanced Tractarians, singularly fond of the mediæval Church, with its monks, partly because of its analogy to their form of Christianity, partly because they consider Catholicism to be a great and beneficent social power;—haters of the Revolution, but not always so strongly opposed to revolutionary measures from above as to those from below, and therefore inclining to Russia rather than to France, which they abhor;—full of admiration for an ideal England, and of contempt for the present government;—Prussians of the old stock, and therefore preferring a powerful Prussia within its own limits to a Prussified Germany, in which their nationality would be destroyed, and liberalism would be triumphant. Hence these men are the most ardent defenders of the Pope's rights, of the King of Naples, and of the Austrians in Italy. This feeling is so strong among them, that their ablest representative, Leo, a month or two ago, had some meetings with certain Catholics at Erfurt to discuss the combinations that seemed possible; but when the report got about that he and his friends were about to become Catholics, they withdrew. This party, however, is much too weak to be of any real service to Austria.

Such is the present seething condition of a people numbering more than 60,000,000, of rare gifts, both of intellect and character, and destined apparently to play a remarkable part in the future history of Europe. Among the many openings for speculation is the effect of the Pope's possible, if not probable, sojourn at Wurtzburg, on the frontier-land of the Protestants and Catholics, and in the presence of an influential body of religionists like those of which Leo is the representative. The action which such an event might have on the population of Germany, and its reaction on the Italianism of the Papal Court, would probably be immense; but it is too large a subject for me to pretend to discuss at the end of an Article.

A.

PREACHING AND PUBLIC SPEAKING.

A BOLD correspondent of this Magazine lately ventured upon a contrast between Catholic and Protestant preaching, to the disadvantage of the Catholic side. Comparisons are proverbially unpopular, and that of the writer in question proved no exception to the rule. It was said, not only that his conclusion was wrong, but that he had no right to publish it. With the former part of this comment I am disposed to agree,

but to the latter part of it I presume to demur. It seems to me undesirable, even if it were possible, to put an extinguisher upon such questions. Facts are, after all, what they are; and truth is pretty sure to find its level in the long-run. Preaching is regarded, in this country at least, as a subject which is eminently *publici juris*; and by claiming the right of praising sermons we concede that of finding fault with them. Abstinence from all criticism on such matters is a perfectly intelligible and highly Christian line. But we are apt to forget that even praise itself is criticism; and that if once we begin to criticise, we cannot expect to rule things all our own way.

But now, as to the writer's conclusion, I think it hardly warranted by facts; besides that his comparison is, as it strikes me, in more than one respect unfair. Our priests bear so small a proportion to the number of the Protestant clergy, even those of the Establishment, that the two sides of the comparison are but ill-matched in the materials for an induction. Considered, again, in the light of literary productions, the sermons of the Protestant clergy derive an undue advantage in the comparison from the vast encouragements offered to literature by the endowments of the Protestant Church. Moreover, it is palpably unfair to compare sermons which are preached from book with those which, as a general rule, are delivered without book, and in language framed on the spur of the moment. Upon the relative advantages of these several methods of preaching I shall speak hereafter. Here it suffices to observe that, whatever the advantage of the more *extempore* practice, sermons preached according to that rule may be expected to suffer in style and finish, in the comparison with carefully-prepared written compositions.

Again, is there not a danger of our comparative estimate of the two sides of this question being affected in some degree by the prejudice denoted in the adage, *Virtutem incolumem odimus*, &c.? While Catholics decry Catholic preaching, Protestants flock to hear Catholic preachers; and while we extol the results of their pulpit, they themselves have little enough that is good to say of it. If one half of the stories which are current among them be well-founded, their clergy are often reduced to shifts which prove, not merely the poverty of their intellectual resources, and the scantiness of their theological knowledge, but likewise, in a signal degree, their exceedingly low estimation of the dignity of the word of God. It is generally believed that in most large towns there are places where sermons are furnished to

needy clergymen in any style of theology. Certain it is that the manuscript discourses of deceased divines are always eagerly caught up; nor should we so frequently see in the public papers, especially those which have a large clerical circulation, advertisements of "Sermons for every Sunday in the year," were not purchasers readily found for them. I have myself heard of cases where clergymen have been treated from the pulpit to a bad reading of one of their own published discourses. Now these are expedients which I venture to say are unknown among Catholics. A hard-worked priest may indeed at times have been driven upon using a sermon of Bourdaloue, or other standard divine, rather than come before his people with a crude performance of his own. But as to vendible oratory and sermon depôts, I never heard of such things on this side the border.

If, then, the comparison halt in its members, we are dispensed from the necessity of testing its results. Yet while few candid Catholics will be found to deny that our preaching is capable of improvement, no fair-minded Protestant, sufficiently cognisant of facts, will be apt to dispute that the English Catholic Church, "little flock" though it be, may boast of possessing some of the first preachers in this country. It is true that not a few of these are converts; but these converts are indebted for their success in the pulpit to their Catholic experience, quite as much as to their pre-Catholic antecedents. Moreover, the practice of preaching without book, which they have acquired since their conversion, is almost like a new start in their work. Yet such is the facility which more than one of them has gained in this method, that their discourses, if transferred from their lips to paper, would read like finished compositions. Then, again, as to the more average specimens of the same class, which must be pitted, of course, against the corresponding portion of Protestant preachers,—whatever defects may be attributed to our average sermons, viewed simply as literary productions, there is generally enough of the *πίστις ἠθικὴ*—the power of moral persuasiveness—about them to outweigh the absence of more artistic qualities. I have heard it said by priests who have once been Protestant ministers, that even inferior Catholic sermons have greatly the advantage of first-rate Protestant discourses in their effect upon the consciences of hearers. This, no doubt, is in part owing to the influence of the confessional, which gets Catholics into a way of treating sermons as real opportunities of good, and believing that a preacher means what he says. But it proves also that the preachers themselves have a just sense of the responsibility

of their office, and make up in sincerity of purpose and earnestness of manner what they may want of those natural gifts or adventitious embellishments which moral requisites can so abundantly compensate, but which, without those requisites, are but as "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal."

And this brings me at once to the main portion of my task, which is to labour after a clear idea of the true object of preaching, and to offer some respectful considerations upon the means by which that object may be most successfully attained.

If any one were to raise the question, whether the preacher can possibly recognise as paramount any other ends of preaching than the glory of God, and the salvation of his hearers, serious people would pronounce that the very doubt conveyed an affront to the pious instincts of every Christian. Despite, however, these holy protests and indignant disclaimers, I am by no means sure that, practically, one Protestant preacher in twenty acts simply upon this view of his office. I am far from saying that they would ignore it, still less repudiate it; all I mean is, that they do not (as the phrase is) "realise" their true aim by habitually acting upon it. Of course *all* preachers are in great danger of losing sight of the true end of preaching, unless, in Catholic language, they often "renew the intention." Countless motives come in to obscure it. There is a Bishop to be pleased; there are adverse critics to be propitiated; there are extremes to be avoided; there is a church to fill, or a meeting-house to empty; and there are other considerations less creditable by far, and more intimately connected with "dear number one," which are apt to complicate motives and put conscience to sleep. Again, it may be safely and freely admitted that sermons vary materially in character, and that the great end of converting or sanctifying hearers belongs more peculiarly to some kinds than to others. It must always be the implied and ultimate end; it need not always be that which is the more direct and prominent. There are, for instance, funeral sermons, in which the commemoration of the deceased is a most allowable, and may even be a leading, object of the preacher; there are sermons on the merits of a particular saint, which are even known by the name of "panegyrics;" there are running commentaries on an epistle or gospel, where instruction rather than exhortation is the object; there are "charity sermons," the immediate purpose of which is to "raise the wind;" there are other sermons "on particular occasions," where the "occasion" is lawfully the chief topic; and all these are

characteristically different from the hortatory sermon, the undivided object of which is, or ought to be, to bring some great practical truth home to the consciences of the hearers. But none of these exceptions (and they might easily be multiplied) make allowance for the operation of any personal or unworthy motive, nor even of motives which are otherwise than strictly collateral and subsidiary to the main object.

To regard a sermon mainly or chiefly in the light of a literary exercise, seems to involve some unconscious ignoring of an acknowledged principle. A sermon which has the merit of a finished composition, which abounds in elegant language, well-balanced periods, felicitous illustrations,—which is delivered, moreover, with a clear intonation and in a faultless manner,—has no claim, so far, to be considered a “good sermon” at all. A good essay it may be, or a good speech; but the word “sermon” is out of place in what, for any thing which appears, may want the essential qualities of a Christian address.

But why, it will be said, may not such artistic excellencies be allowable as accessories? Even then I am somewhat inclined to be suspicious of them. Do classic taste and rhetorical finish always add to the persuasiveness of a sermon? I am much inclined to doubt it. There is great danger of “the man” eclipsing his subject. Then, too, it is so much easier to admire a sermon than to apply it, *i. e.* except to our neighbour. The devil is a first-rate preacher in his way; he has also his partisans in every congregation, and can hold communication with them over the preacher’s head. I am far from wishing to claim any exemption from the faults of human nature; but I have no hesitation in declaring that the most inornate of sermons which seems to come from the heart, interests and affects me so much more powerfully than a piece of mere rhetoric or a finished essay, that the effects of the two are simply incommensurable.

Not, of course, that I would propose a merely earnest sermon as the model of perfect preaching. On the contrary, I am about to offer a few practical suggestions as to the mode in which earnestness may be made to tell to the best advantage. But as I am writing exclusively for Catholics, and as all my intended observations will be made on the assumption that sermons (as is almost invariably the case with us) are more of the nature of speeches than of essays, I must, in the first instance, say a few words in defence of this Catholic practice itself.

Read sermons have no doubt some obvious advantage over mere spoken ones. They secure a preacher infallibly

against a break-down. There are cases in which he would give his ears for a manuscript; and others in which his audience would give—not, indeed, that particular organ, but a reasonable consideration, for the same advantage.

Again, a manuscript is a protection against bungling as well as against absolute collapse. A man has advantages in writing a sentence in his library which may fail him in a public position. The weight, however, of this argument will depend very much upon the importance attached to the mere *composition* of a sermon, upon which perhaps my own opinion may be exceptional.

A still more unquestionable advantage on the side of writing sermons is that of the care which deliberate composition implies. Here, indeed, one may say unhesitatingly, that if preaching “without book” is to be literally, or even chiefly “*extempore*,”—that is, if it do not involve an amount of mental preparation scarcely inferior to the intellectual effort which it would require to *write* a sermon entire,—one would wish to see it altogether superseded by a method which any how requires a painstaking solicitude about a duty the momentous nature of which needs no comment.

Yet, after all, and under this limitation, I greatly prefer the Catholic practice of delivering, instead of reading, pulpit addresses. Could those addresses, indeed, if read from a manuscript, be so delivered as to appear to be spoken, such a course would no doubt meet a part of the objection. Indeed, my feeling does not go against *writing* sermons, but against *reading* them. I am inclined, on the contrary, to think that one of the best courses for a man who has to make a pulpit address, about the terms of which he is very particular, is first to write it entirely out, and then, leaving his manuscript in his portfolio, to preach it, not *verbatim*, but from his general recollection of his copy. It will thus be apt to combine the united advantage of composition and spontaneous oratory. The speaker keeps before his mind a clear view of the subject and its arrangement, while he remembers enough of the actual words to aid him in putting it into shape, but not so much as to give his address the appearance of being a mere transcript. On the other hand, of all courses which a speaker can adopt, the very worst is that of bringing a manuscript copy into public without meaning to use it. In that case, he is sure to be always hankering after his pocket, and should he happen to get into a boggle, instead of extricating himself from it by his own unaided exertions, he loses his presence of mind, flies to his copy, probably misses the place (which has an ugly knack of hiding itself when it

is wanted), and thus draws the whole attention of his audience to his embarrassment, which otherwise, perhaps, might never have been observed. No; there is no medium between our own legs and a good pair of crutches; and if positively sure that we cannot get on alone, we had better make up our minds to secure an assistance which is proof against a slip.

Where an inexperienced preacher has not time to write out his sermon, the best thing he can do is to make copious notes; still leaving the actual words to find themselves for the occasion. There is not the same objection to taking a paper of notes with us into public as exists against taking a literal transcript of our address without intending to use it. For notes are mere hints, which would not help us through the difficulties of a panic, even if we had recourse to them, and so are never thought of in that point of view. Still, if our speaker can dispense even with notes, so much the better for the effect of his address.

The great advantage of speaking over reading is, that it is the more natural mode of enforcing a cause which we have at heart. It also creates on the part of the audience an imagination of the speaker's ability, which is no mean help to the effect of his exhortations.

A speaker may dispense with his manuscript, and dispense even with his notes; but two requisites there are which he can never afford to go without, and these are: (1) a copious supply of matter, and (2) an orderly arrangement of it, thoroughly mastered by means of previous reflection. If his matter be not pre-arranged, it will be apt to crowd upon him with overwhelming pressure. But if (worse still) it do not exist, the result must inevitably be either a collapse or one of those aimless and meaningless discourses, comprising a string of pious platitudes, which wash like innocuous waves over the heads of the self-satisfied auditory.

With plenty of matter, previous reflection, deep interest in his subject, an ordinary command of language, and, above all, a cool head, a speaker will soon triumph over all obstacles, except of course those mere accidents which no prudence can forecast, and against the chances of which no work in the world is secure.

Self-possession is not only indispensable to oratorical success, but it is alone more than half the battle. Self-possession is often a main part of eloquence. Failures in public appearances are in some cases very commonly the result of merely physical causes, yet we are by no means disposed to refer "nervousness" to physical causes alone. It is as often a moral as a constitutional malady. It is intimately con-

nected with our egotistical propensities. It bears to vain-glory the same relation which shyness bears to pride. Hence we have the satisfaction of knowing that it admits in most cases of a cure, or at least a material mitigation. What spiritual writers call "indifference" is a far better remedy for nervousness than sal-volatile. Men are by their natural temperament and habits of life more "indifferent" than women, that is, they care less what happens to them. Hence they are proportionately less nervous. That which in ordinary men is a mere characteristic of the sex is with religious men the effect of principle, and the fruit of meditation. Hence the religious are seldom nervous; and this is one reason why they shine in public ministrations. A man who disciplines himself for martyrdom, and who courts rather than shirks contumely and disesteem, is not likely to be over-sensitive to the disgrace of breaking down in a sermon; and the absence of all apprehension of failure is a main part of the secret of success. With self-possession and a good fund of materials, an educated orator is very independent of circumstances.

Yet nervousness is not wholly a moral malady, and deserves immense compassion. The freaks of a nervous temperament are among the most curious phenomena of our physical constitution. A nervous temperament is the very field of delusions, the most absurd, yet the most obstinate. Preachers, more than one, who, were I to mention their names, would be pronounced models of self-possession in the pulpit, have told me that they hardly ever come before the public without an almost crushing apprehension of failure, which regularly vanishes when they begin, and as regularly recurs next time. Another singular fact is, that this nervous dread is often cured by the very circumstances the anticipation of which excites it. It haunts a preacher in the sacristy, and passes off the instant he faces his audience. Again, there is many a man who can command his mind far better in the presence of five thousand spectators and listeners, than before even one person with whom he is not at his ease. Indeed, my own experience would lead me to the opinion that nervous embarrassment is often inversely as the apparent occasion for it. Why is it that many find it easier to address a large multitude than a few stragglers? First, the scene inspires us. Then, no doubt, there is a support in feeling that a great deal is at stake. But, besides all this, fancied obstacles do not, in fact, increase in the ratio of numbers. In a small audience every one seems to be a listener; while, in a large one, criticism seems to be

diluted by diffusion. Happy, above all, is that preacher whom a yawn does not flutter, and who remains master of himself during a slow cannonade of snores! He is not far from excellence both as an orator and as a Christian.

It has been often remarked, and with a certain amount of truth, that good writing and good speaking seldom go together. Lord Derby, the greatest orator of the day, is said not to excel as a letter-writer. The late Dr. Howley, who was a remarkably classical English writer, could not put two sentences together in a public speech. The reason is obvious. The habit of selecting the most appropriate words which written composition induces, is highly unfavourable to oratorical fluency, which is destroyed by "harking back" after a more suitable expression. But this observation applies only to a highly-polished and fastidiously-accurate style of writing, or, on the other hand, of oratory. The habit of easy and natural composition, so far from prejudicing the power of oral expression, assists it, and *vice versâ*. It is when over-precise writers try to be fluent orators, or declamatory orators try to be fastidious writers, that they find the powers of nature unequal to so trying an exaction. William Wilberforce was a good writer as well as a brilliant orator; but this was because he wrote, to all appearance, *currente calamo*.

The two marplots of eloquence are correction and hesitation. Flow is next in importance to matter. The attempt at over-nicety of phrase involves a constant change of words, and checks the current of attention. Hearers always think more of fluency than of accuracy. Hence a less perfect word without a pause is generally preferable to a more perfect one which has to be got at by circuitous means. Any thing is better than an awkward and unexpected break. Nature does not abhor a vacuum more than oratory. Should such a void loom in the distance, it must be filled up by words of some sort, and not slurred over by "humming and hawing." We easily overrate the sensitiveness of the audience to defects, but its sensitiveness to bungling we cannot exaggerate.

There are well-known proverbs which attest that the most critical portions of every work are the beginning and the end. This is peculiarly true of public speaking. The beginning of an address should always be simple and unpresuming, and the end such as not, at any rate, to weaken, but rather to confirm and fix, the impression of the whole. This, however, is not always easy. A speaker who is not very self-possessed is apt to exhaust himself and his matter at the outset. To husband his resources is one of the first rules for an orator. For my own part, I prefer sermons which begin

with a very simple explanation of the text, and so launch us gently into the depths of the subject. The *fumum ex fulgore* is above all things to be avoided. I have observed that Catholic preachers do not commonly follow the Protestant practice of pre-announcing the heads of their discourse, and I think they are wise. In the first place, this practice always sounds over-methodical; and besides, it distracts the hearer to know what he is to expect before he is quit of what is before him.

But if the opening of a speech be difficult as well as important, the ending is certainly not less so. All but very experienced speakers are apt to fail here. Some never know when to end, and others never know how. Many speakers, when drawing to a close, contrive to wind themselves in their own silk into the condition of a cocoon. They spin and spin, till the point of their sermon is well-nigh dissipated; and they work themselves into their bed so deeply that they do not find it easy to get out. They signal the prospect of an exit by a "one word more," which is often the beginning of sermon No. 2. Then the clock strikes one, if not two, or the congregation makes a sudden descent upon its knees, or something else happens to remind the preacher that he is forgetting himself. End he must, by some means, and, in his strait, he makes a sort of convulsive grasp at the first termination which occurs to him. He has no resource but to seize upon some hackneyed formula of dismissal; and brings up what perhaps has been really a good and effective discourse, as the school-boy finishes off his Sunday exercise, with some such indefinite promise as "happiness in this present world, and in the world to come life everlasting." Hence it seems a good practice for unpractised speakers to commit to memory the very words with which they intend to wind up their addresses.

Speakers, especially such as are inexperienced, should avoid long paragraphs. Otherwise, they will be in danger of involved and inconsecutive talking. They should also eschew tropes. One of the hardest things in oratory is to sustain a metaphor. The example of the celebrated Lord Castlereagh is a warning to all orators who venture upon imagery without being sure of their ground.

The great secret of a preacher's success is to mean what he says, and say no more than he means. It is wonderful how easy it is in the pulpit to be unnatural without the slightest real insincerity. Off-hand preaching undoubtedly favours this tendency. It easily glides into ranting. Without imperturbable coolness and self-command, a preacher is

sure to fall into a tone of exaggeration or sentimentality. "His poverty and not his will consents" to saying from the preacher's chair far more than he is prepared to endorse in private. I well remember the sinking of heart which it gave me to read that a foreign priest, who was the subject of a too-celebrated law-case some years ago, had the character in his day of being a first-rate preacher on the Passion of our Lord.

The extreme danger and evil of "unreality" in the pulpit leads some preachers into an opposite extreme, and makes them over-familiar. They err in matter, as Dr. Whately is said to have erred in manner, when, on the plea of being "natural," he advocated uncouthness. There is indeed a kind of familiarity in the pulpit, especially in retreat-sermons, which is graceful and delightful. Many Italian missionaries have it. Father Faber, too, has it in a remarkable degree, especially in his published "Conferences." There is a charm of nature, a refinement of wit, a felicity of illustration, about those discourses which is quite refreshing. But, *non cuivis homini*, &c. Familiarity and humour, though they have a place in preaching, are edge-tools in the hands of the unskilful. "Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar," is a maxim as useful for the preacher as for the gentleman. Yet surely there must be some golden mean between stiffness and over-freedom, and which cannot be hard of attainment to preachers who are habitually careful to carry up their common sense into the pulpit, instead of leaving it with their coats in the vestry.

I close with a few words of explanation, which, on a review of this Article, seem to be demanded by its tenor and perhaps even more by its tone. It is difficult to be smart without seeming satirical, and to draw pictures which shall not be suspected of having their originals. Could I bare my heart, however, this natural suspicion would be found utterly without counterpart in fact. It would be seen that I had been making confession rather than indulging in criticism; revealing the conclusions of personal experience, rather than proclaiming the results of observation.

Again, it cannot, as I hope, be fairly said that I have set the requirements of the preacher higher than reason warrants, or facts bear out. To recapitulate those requirements, in the order in which I have stated them, will be enough to show that they are easily attainable, as well as commonly attained. First, earnestness; secondly, matter; thirdly, method; fourthly, self-possession; and fifthly, the observance of a few simple rules, which it is really easier to

follow than to neglect. Other than these, I know of no qualifications for preaching but those which every priest may be expected to bring to the work. Such are, competent theological knowledge, the *zelus animarum*, and habitual meditation on Divine Truth. But these are matters which lie beside the scope of this Article, and beyond the province of a popular Magazine. They relate to preaching *proper*, whereas my business has been with it rather as it is a branch of public speaking.

F.

 EDMUND CAMPION.—No. I.

EDMUND CAMPION, the protomartyr of the English Jesuits, was born in London on St. Paul's day, January 25, 15³⁹/₄₀, the thirtieth year of Henry VIII., a year marked by the suppression of the great religious houses in England, and the inauguration of a persecution of which, forty years after, Campion was to be a victim, as well as by the Pope's solemn approval of the Society of Jesus, of which he was to be an ornament. His father was also Edmund Campion, citizen and bookseller of London. "His parents were not wealthy in the riches of this world, but very honest and Catholic," says Father Parsons. Campion himself was not so certain of this; he only "hopes" that they died in the faith. They had four children, a girl and three boys, of whom Edmund was either eldest or second. He and his youngest brother took to books; the other preferred adventure, and took a wife, who was occasionally left to herself while her husband served in the wars.

When Edmund was come to "years of discretion," that is, when he was nine or ten, his parents wished to apprentice him to some merchant; but some members of one of the London companies—Parsons thinks that of the merchant adventurers, but I think the grocers—having become acquainted with the "sharp and pregnant wit" that he had shown from his childhood, induced their guild to undertake to maintain him "at their common charges to the study of learning." He was sent first to some London grammar-school, and afterwards to the new foundation of Edward VI. at Christ Church, Newgate Street,—if we may call it his foundation; but a new religion had brought in new notions of merit and reparation; it was ample satisfaction for the theft of a hog to bestow its feet in alms. Just three weeks before he died, Henry VIII. not only atoned for his wholesale pillage of the

church, but acquired the honours of a founder and benefactor, by restoring St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, to the service of God and the poor; and his son followed his example by founding schools with some of the confiscated Church property, according to the lesson first taught by Cardinal Wolsey, and since repeated with variations by most of the European governments. Christ-Church Hospital, or the Blue-Coat School, was one of these foundations.

In those days there seems to have been a common *concursus* among the London grammar-schools, as if they had formed a university. Campion is said "ever to have borne away the game in all contentions of learning proposed by the schools of London;" a fact which he would occasionally "merrily mention" in after life, not without some talk of the prizes he had gained. His "championship" was acknowledged; and so when Queen Mary, on her solemn entry into London, August 3, 1553, had to pass by St. Paul's School, it was none of the "Paul's pigeons" that was selected to address her, but Campion, as the representative of London scholarship, was brought from Newgate Street to make the requisite harangue. Minds that had faith in functions would have triumphed in the prospects which that day opened to the Church. They could not admit that the enthusiasm could be so soon cooled. They noted with admiration the long procession: the lords marching three and three together; the ambassadors surrounded with crowds of their own countrymen, and each attended by one of the privy councillors—the Spanish Ambassador for greater honour attended by St. John the Lord Treasurer; the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas White, who was afterwards to be Campion's great patron; the Earl of Arundel, bearing the sword before the queen; the queen herself, "in a long-sleeved robe of crimson velvet, with side-sleeves and train of the same, enriched with gold embroidery and precious stones;" followed by her sister, the Lady Elizabeth, and a hundred and sixty other ladies,—duchesses, countesses, dames, mistresses, and maids. Eight thousand horsemen rode in the procession, and the Tower guns kept firing from the first moment the queen passed under Temple Bar till she reached the old fortress; the roofs and streets were crowded with citizens singing, playing organs, and shouting, "God save Queen Mary!" It was in the midst of this tumult that little Campion had to spout his address, and to share the honours of a day when good-humour ruled, and criticism was mute except to applaud. The queen is said to have been much pleased with him, and the people cheered him heartily, though they probably did not hear a

word he said ; for at thirteen he had not that " sweet, modulated, full, sonorous bass voice " which afterwards inspired hearts with so high resolves, though there might have been the *faciei grata venustas*, a youthful beauty against whose rhetoric the people could not hold argument, and anticipations of excellence to make citizens proud of their young champion.

When Sir Thomas White founded St. John's College, Oxford, the Grocers' Company dealt with him to admit this youth as a scholar, " which he did most willingly after he was informed of his towardliness and virtue." The Company gave him an exhibition for his maintenance. In 1557, when the college was increased, Campion became junior fellow; for the founder had conceived a special affection for him, and he had in very short time grown to be much known for his wit, and especially for his grace of speech and gift of eloquence, in which he was thought to be the best man of his time.

In November 1558, Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole died. Elizabeth succeeded, set up chiefly by the forwardness and forces of the Catholic nobility and people, who at that day, says Parsons, were without comparison the stronger party, but were content to act thus, partly on the hope of Elizabeth continuing in the Catholic religion, of which she had made much demonstration while her sister lived, and partly on a certain politic persuasion that this was the less evil, the best way to preserve peace, and exclude a foreign succession to the crown. But within a few weeks the new queen had forbidden the Host to be elevated in her presence, had chidden her preachers for their doctrine, and had excited such suspicion that a Bishop could hardly be procured to crown her. After her coronation she quite threw off the mask, and by a packed party in the " beardless parliament," and a majority of one voice in the House of Lords, from which, by threats and cajolery, she had caused the chief Catholic nobles to absent themselves, against the unanimous decision of the Bishops, and the expressed wishes of Convocation, she substituted the Anglican Establishment for the Catholic Church. But it was a long time before the law written on paper became transfused into the habits and life of the English; the utmost address and ingenuity, the most imperturbable patience, were requisite to enforce it step by step, first in one place, then in another, upon the divided and isolated population of the country.

The change was not immediately felt at Oxford, especially by the undergraduates; the authorities did not want

to make Oxford a desert by forcing too many consciences; no oath was required of Campion till he took his degree in 1564. By that time the seductions of the university, a host of friends, and a large following of disciples had entangled him. His eloquence was a dangerous gift; as junior in the act of February 19, 1564, he was orator in the schools, "at which time," says Anthony à Wood, "speaking one or more most admirable orations, to the envy of his contemporaries, he caused one of them, Tobie Mathew, to say, that rather than omit the opportunity to show his parts, and *dominari in unâ atque alterâ conciunculâ* (to be cock in a spouting-match or two), he took the oath against the supremacy of the Pope and against his own conscience." In this envious speech of Tobie's there is some truth to poison the wound. The orator's success tempted him to desert theology, to which he had addressed himself from his boyhood, and to become a humanist; and why should a humanist and a layman trouble himself with the quarrels of Pope and queen? His own path of duty was plain; he was more certain that he ought to obey his superiors, and fulfil his engagements with his pupils, than he could be about the abstract question of the Pope's supremacy. The more certain duty eclipses the less; and as a mere layman he had no particular call to certify himself more securely on so very inconvenient a point. Nevertheless, though he took the oath himself, he sometimes saved others from doing so. "I knew him at Oxford," says Parsons, "and it was through him that the oath was not tendered to me when I took my M.A. degree."

Still, however loth, he was obliged, by the statutes of the college, to enter on the study of theology; but he managed to find a respite, and to stave off the urgent questions. He began with natural theology, and read it up from Aristotle—Aristotle says nothing about the Pope's supremacy. Then he went on to positive theology, the old settled dogma, which had not much to do with the controversies of the day. Then he determined to spell through the Fathers, where he could not expect to find much about these crabbed points; this I gather from his own statement: "First I learned grammar in my native place; then I went to Oxford, where I studied philosophy for seven years (1557-1564), and theology for about six—Aristotle, Positive Theology, and the Fathers."

After he had taken his degree he had hosts of pupils, who followed not only his teaching but his example, and imitated not only his phrases but his gait. He filled Oxford with "Campionists;" he became, like Hotspur, the glass wherein the youth did dress themselves, whose speech, gait, and diet

was the copy and book that fashioned others. Among these Campionists was Robert Turner, afterwards rector of the University of Ingoldstadt, who speaks of his master as the one *qui stilum meum, prius disjectum et libere effluentem extroram artis et rationis, redegit in quadrum, aut aptius ad normam hanc rectam exegit*; he had pinched up, and pulled out, and squared into shape his pupil's slovenly style. Another was Richard Stanihurst, poet, historian, and divine; and another, Henry, son of Lord Vaux of Harrowden. None of them approach their master in his brief and brilliant phrases, and forcible and lifelike epithets; but they gathered round him and formed a classical public, a brotherhood of scholars, to excite, to appreciate, and to applaud.

St. John's College was at that time a nursery for Catholics. The founder, Sir Thomas White, a Catholic, who as Lord Mayor of London in 1553 had done good service against Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, and who in Elizabeth's first Parliament had protested that "it was unjust that a religion begun in such a miraculous way, and established by such grave men, should be abolished by a set of beardless boys,"—was still alive to superintend its foundation. When Elizabeth abolished the Mass, Dr. Alexander Belsire, whom Sir Thomas had appointed first president of his college in 1555, was deprived by the Royal Commissioners, for Popery, in 1559 or 1560; and then White took away all the crucifixes, vestments, and holy vessels that he had given, and hid them in his house, to be restored in happier times.* Belsire's successor, Dr. William Ely, who was elected by the scholars and confirmed by White, was as much a Catholic as his predecessor; but he managed to hold his post till 1563 without acknowledging the queen's supremacy. In that year the oath was tendered to him, and he was ejected. William Stock, Principal of Gloucester Hall, succeeded Ely, but was also ejected in a year for Popery. In 1564 Sir Thomas White made John Robinson president; he remained so for eight years, till July 1572, when, White being dead, and the Puritan Horne, Bishop of Winchester, having succeeded in upsetting White's arrangement which deprived the Bishops of that see of the visitation of the college and vested it in trustees, of whom one of the first was to have been William Roper, the descendant of Sir Thomas More, the character of the college underwent a complete change. Tobie Mathew was made president (1572), the suspected Papists (nine out of twenty) were ejected from the fellowships, and their places

* They were given back to the college, in 1602, by Mrs. Leach, White's niece.

were filled by Puritans. Such is always the end of attempts to graft Catholic institutions upon the Establishment; a generous impulse is called forth, foundations more or less liberal are made, matters go on well while the personal presence of the founder overlooks them; but when he dies, his spirit departs, and his foundation reverts to the true representatives of Anglicanism, the pharisaical High Churchman or the fanatical Puritan. The unsoundness of the constitution which requires the constant supervision of a man of genius, is shown by its collapse under his successors. There is no home for any thing Catholic in the Establishment. It would be ridiculous to look for the spirit of Sir Thomas White, or of Edmund Campion, in the present society of St. John's College, Oxford.

In the times I am speaking of, that society, if we may believe Yepes, Bishop of Tarrasona, never would have the Lord's Supper celebrated in their chapel, nor would go elsewhere in search of it. If they had not the same objection to the Common Prayer, they avoided all topics of religious dispute, devoted themselves to philosophy and scholarship, and made Campion promise not to compromise himself in his public disputations. They were all waiting for something to turn up; waiting like the drunken man for the door to come round to them, instead of shaking off their lethargy and walking out through the open door. They were waiting for Burghley to die, or for Elizabeth to die or to marry a Catholic husband, or for the King of Spain to come and depose her; waiting for fortune to change for them, instead of trying to change their own fortune; and forgetting that fate unresisted overcomes us, but is conquered by resistance. They wanted the voice of a Demosthenes in their ears—"Will you for ever go sneaking about, and asking, 'What news?' What can be more disgraceful news than that an heretical woman is putting down the Catholics, and usurping their inheritance? Is Elizabeth dead? No, i' faith, but she is very sick; and what matters it to you? If she were dead, you would soon set up another Elizabeth, through your sloth and poltroonery. For this one has not made herself what she is; it is you that have built her up." It was this English dilatoriness, this provisional acquiescence in wrong, this stretching of the conscience in order that men might keep what they had, which lost England to the Church, as it has since lost many a man who was quite convinced that he ought to be a Catholic, but waited till his conviction faded away. The Catholics waited for the times to mend; and they waited till their children were brought up to curse the

religion of their fathers, till they had been robbed piecemeal of their wealth and power, and found themselves a waning sect in the land they had once occupied from sea to sea.

Campion's first public oratorical display at Oxford was in 1560, at the re-burial of poor Amy Robsart, Robert Dudley's murdered wife, who had been hastily stowed away at Cumnor, till the people muttering about her husband having caused Foster, his servant, to throw her down-stairs and break her neck, in order that he might enjoy the Queen's favours more freely,—as afterwards he did during his whole life,—induced him to display his love and grief by a magnificent funeral in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, when Dudley's chaplain, Dr. Babington, made her funeral oration. But either more than one oration was made over her grave, or the event was commemorated in the different colleges; for Parsons says that "Edmund Campion was chosen, though then very young, to make an English oration in her funerals, which he performed with exceeding commendation of all who were present." I have already mentioned his successes in February 1564. In the same year Sir Thomas White died, and, in conformity with his will, his body was brought from London to Oxford, "with great celebrity and a marvellous concourse of people, on account of the fame of his virtues and charities;" and because he was a known Catholic, and had done much to defend and advance his religion, therefore (says Parsons) Campion was chosen to make the funeral oration in Latin; and in it he so well "improved" the alms-deeds of Sir Thomas, "that he wonderfully moved his audience to esteem such pious deeds," and "appalled much for many days the new-fangled preachers of that time," who used to disparage the merit of good works, and had not yet arrived even at the moderate Anglican view, that a few of them do no harm.

A copy of this oration is preserved at Stonyhurst; it is in very idiomatic and elegant Latin, and my translated extracts give no idea of its excellence. The author begins with a rhetorical picture of the grief of the thirty towns which White's munificence had enriched, and then turns to the simplicity which governed this liberality. "What magnificent generosity it was for a wholly unlettered man to found this great home of literature, for a man without learning to patronise the learned, for a wealthy citizen to adopt so many strangers when he had no children of his own, and to give all he had to aliens!" He enlarges on White's childlessness, and declares that it was providential, not natural: "Wherefore? he was freed from this care that he might be wholly unencumbered for another; and this other care he so entirely

embraced, that for the last ten years he has devoted all his thoughts, all his means, all his labour upon us; when away from Oxford his soul was here, waking or sleeping he only thought of us. As soon as his last fatal paralysis attacked him, he immediately sent off for one of us. Our president was away, and I was sent instead. As soon as he saw me, the old man embraced me, and with tears spoke words that I could not hear with dry eyes, and cannot repeat without weeping. The sum was, that we should take every care that the college was not harmed, that we should be in charity among ourselves, and educate the youth intrusted to us liberally and piously. We were to tell him if there was any thing as yet unfinished, for he was prepared to supply what was needful; and there was yet time to make fresh regulations, or to repeal, remove, or change the old. He had provided for us in his will, and hoped that his wife and William Cordell, his executors, would take care of us. He begged that we would not pray for his recovery, but for faith and patience in his last moments; and nothing annoyed him so much as wishes for a renewal of health.* Then there is an apostrophe to Sir Thomas, and a summary of his charities—the foundation of Merchant-Tailors' School in London, the restoration of Gloucester Hall, and the foundation of St. John's College, Oxford. "He has beaten all of us students with our holy ways, our sacred teaching, our pious talk, and our sacrilegious life. In this man's tongue, manners, and gait, there was nothing polished, dressed up, painted, affected, or false; all was bare, open, pure, sincere, chaste, undefiled." He and Sir Thomas Pope were the only private persons who had founded colleges; but he did it at a time when there were few incentives to such an act; "when literature was despised, was in prison, in poverty, and in despair, half dead with sorrow, nearly washed out in tears."

The next great occasion of Campion's oratorical triumphs was in 1566, during the queen's visit to the university. The shows with which Oxford entertained her are of a piece with those which she afterwards witnessed at Kenilworth, and which Sir Walter Scott has made familiar to us. Wherever she went, inscriptions were put up in her honour; one that was set up over the gate of Christ Church made a painful impression on Campion. That college was one of Wolsey's two

* White, in his last letter to his college, wrote, "I have me recommended unto you even from the bottom of my heart, desiring the Holy Ghost may be among you until the end of the world, and desiring Almighty God that every one of you may love one another as brethren; and I shall desire you all to apply to your learning. . . . And if any strife or variance do arise among you, for God's sake to pacify it as much as you may."

magnificent foundations. "That at Ipswich" (says Campion) "was destroyed by Henry. The other at Oxford is without comparison grander than any college in Europe, and endowed with an income of about 3000*l.* At the present day Henry is called its founder, simply because he did not upset it and confiscate its revenues after the cardinal's death. Witness the verses carved in great letters over the entrance when Elizabeth made her visit; the last line of the inscription was, *Imperfecta tui subiens monumenta parentis* ('Enter the unfinished monument of your father'). I never saw any thing more miserable; the memory of the noble patron obliterated, and the honour given to one who had violated every principle of honour, trampled under foot all laws, human and divine, and destroyed the religion and commonwealth of England." Campion did not make allowance for the tendency which he exemplified in his own mind. In organised bodies honourable actions are attributed to the recognised head of the body, as the individual prowess of soldiers and skill of officers swell the general's credit, while the general's victories are set down to the king. The courtly Anglican naturally refers the foundation of Christ Church to Henry, the independent churchman to Wolsey; but its real founders were the men who had set up the small monasteries out of the revenues of which Wolsey, with the king's permission, endowed his colleges. But the real founders were not a representative body; they were a mere catalogue of names, without meaning or coherence, and their honour was going a-begging till some one appropriated it. Churchmen claimed it for the churchman, politicians for the king, according to the usual rule in such cases. So, Mr. Weld's splendid acts of charity towards the suffering orders and emigrant priests have in a late work been attributed to his son, the cardinal; and in a recent history of the Catholic Church in England, the existence of the lay element is ignored, except where it is to be blamed, and all its deeds are attributed to the clergy. *Κόραξ κόρακι*. According to our individual bias, we select somewhat arbitrarily our representative men; and I see nothing to wonder at in Campion, a churchman, selecting Cardinal Wolsey, or in the Oxford courtiers flattering the father of their sovereign mistress.

Besides these speaking scrolls, "the whole university forced itself every way to make the best show they could in all kinds of learned and liberal exercises, as orations, disputations, *preaches*, comedies, tragedies, and the like." There were farces and rough horse-pranks, which Elizabeth relished amazingly; there were sour theological disputes "mode-

rated" by John Jewel of Sarum; and a discussion of physical philosophy, in which Campion bore the chief share. But he had his share in the other revels, "whereof myself," says Parsons, "was then an eye-witness, though some six or seven years behind Mr. Campion in standing and in age." Wood says that he welcomed the queen in the name of the university, at her first entry into the city, as thirteen years before he had welcomed Queen Mary to London. His opinions would not be against him at court. The queen notoriously hated the Puritans, and had a taste for many of the externals of the old religion, towards the professors of which she exhibited the moderation of endeavouring to win them by gentle means without exasperating them. Campion's state of mind, however obnoxious to Jewel or Tobie Mathew, would make him the more interesting to a political coquette who prided herself on her powers of fascination. Nevertheless his friends extorted from him a promise to avoid all controverted points in his orations. Nor was the council less anxious to keep such disputes from the queen's ears. The documents remaining in the State-Paper Office are an amusing proof of the industry with which the queen's advisers incubated over this important point. One list of questions in Sir William Cecil's hand carefully eschews all theology, and begins with the inquiry, "Why is ophthalmia catching, but not dropsy or gout?" Another paper, which probably contains Jewel's scheme, proposes to affirm as many heresies as could be stuffed into the budget. The scheme finally adopted by the council was a clever one for committing the university to the political theology of the court. Its questions in divinity are, "Whether subjects may fight against wicked princes?" "The ministry is not an external power." In moral philosophy, "Princes should be declared by succession, not by election;" "The rule of the king alone is better than that of law alone." The political nature of the so-called religious movement in England is well indicated by these questions, and it shows some liberality in the government, that they were allowed to be canvassed at the university in the presence of the queen.

It must have been a relief to his friends to find that Campion was only to be the oracle of two physical mysteries—"Whether the tides are caused by the moon's motion?" and "Whether the lower bodies of the universe are regulated by the higher?" He was respondent; that is, he had first to expose his arguments briefly, then to listen and reply to the objections of his opponents. This display came off on September 3, 1566, before the queen and the handsome Lord

Robert, "the chick that sitteth next the henne," not yet Earl of Leicester, but chancellor of the university, the consoled widower of Amy Robsart, and almost a recognised suitor for the queen's hand, whose familiarity encouraged her faithful Commons, two months afterwards, to petition her to marry, even going so far as to designate him for Prince Consort, "if she intended to marry a subject." But Elizabeth took offence, and commanded him on peril of his life not to aspire to such a thing. As yet, however, the drama was not "Love's Labour lost," and so the adulatory Oxonians could treat him almost as if he were king, without making the queen jealous. Before this loving pair Campion was called out to dispute, Mr. Bully being moderator, Campion respondent; Day, Meyrick (a peppery Welshman, made Bishop of Man in 1573), Richard Bristow (afterwards a Catholic, and a dear friend of Campion, one of the founders of Douai College, and the author of the celebrated "Motives"), and Adam Squire, the attacking party. In his opening speech Campion shows more rhetoric and tact than knowledge. "The only thing that reconciled him to the unequal contest, which he had to maintain single-handed against four pugnacious youths, was the thought that he was speaking in the name of Philosophy, the princess of letters, before Elizabeth, a lettered princess, whose blessed ancestors were adepts in science, who set her the example of visiting the poor scholars." Then he addressed the magnificent chancellor, whose godly and deathless benefactions to the university he could not deny if he would, and ought not to conceal if he could. It was he who had raised Oxford from her lethargy, and encouraged her progress. "May God preserve these benefits to us; may He preserve your Majesty [to the queen], your Honour [to Dudley],—you, our mother; you, our protector,—you, who do these things; you, who advise them," &c. This oratorical see-saw was great clap-trap no doubt, but it effected its purpose. The queen was visibly affected, and turned with smiles to Lord Robert,—“ You, my lord, must still be one;” words of no great weight, but which thrilled through an ambitious heart, and kindled in it no unkindly feeling to the young orator, who was perorating to so much better purpose than when, six years before, he was pronouncing the panegyric of poor Amy Robsart. Campion did not notice the queen's interruption, but proceeded with his pendulum: “ You, who preserve us; you, who honour us; you, who give us security; you, who give us happiness.” If *bene esse* is better than *esse*, Campion certainly preferred the chancellor to the queen, and she showed how deeply she was in love by smiling at the

preference. "For all these things," continued the speaker, "we have no money, or dresses, or such-like presents to give; we can only give what we have within us, something from the veins and bowels of philosophy." Then he eviscerates philosophy after this fashion: "The moon rules the tides. How do you know? The astronomers tell us that she rules moisture; the physicians, that the humours of the body flow more freely at the changes of the moon; the naturalists, that she expands the sea-water. Directly beneath her, therefore, the sea is always blown out with vapours, like water boiling in a pot. This is the cause of tides." With equal brevity he infers that "the heaven rules all lower bodies," and concludes by asking his hearers' best attention for the sturdy youths who are to oppose him. This shows the low ebb of knowledge at Oxford, where an opinion was asserted which had been exploded three centuries earlier in the continental schools. "The ancients said," writes St. Thomas, "that certain winds are generated in the sea which cannot break loose, but cause the ebb and flow; but this opinion is false."

After the dispute, the queen expressed her admiration of Campion's eloquence, and commended him particularly to Lord Robert, who willingly undertook to patronise the scholar. Campion certainly deserved some gratitude for the confession he had drawn from the queen; and his religious tendencies were not then offensive to Dudley, who "was for some years the secret friend of the Papists against the Protestants, till he was for policy persuaded by Lord North and his other friends to step over to the Puritans against both." He therefore sent for Campion, told him how grateful he ought to be to the queen, who had commissioned Dudley to find out what she could do for him; he was urged to use this favour while it lasted, and to increase it by cultivation. "Do not be too modest," he said, "for it is not only the queen's command but my own inclination to befriend you. Ask what you like for the present. The queen and I will provide for the future." But Campion would not make any particular request. The friendship of the chancellor, he said, was worth more than all gifts. Dudley of course was pleased to gain a brilliant client at no cost. For four years from this time the Earl of Leicester (Dudley's new title) showed him no little kindness, as Campion acknowledges in his dedication of his *History of Ireland* to the earl in May 1571;—"There is none that knoweth me familiarly, but he knoweth withal how many ways I have been beholden to your lordship. The regard of your deserts and of my duty hath easily won at my hands this testimony of a thankful mind. I might be thought ambitious

if I should recount in particular the times and places of your several courtesies to me. How often at Oxford, how often at the court, how at Rycot, how at Windsor, how by letters, how by reports, you have not ceased to further with advice, and to countenance with authority, the hope and expectation of me, a single student. Therefore, in sum, it shall suffice me to acknowledge the general heap of your bounties, and for them all to serve your honour frankly, at least with a true heart. Let every man esteem in your state and fortune the thing that best contenteth and serveth his imagination; but surely to a judgment settled and rectified, these outward felicities which the world gazeth on are there and therefore to be deemed praiseable when they lodge those inward qualities of the mind, which (saving for suspicion of flattery) I was about to say are planted in your breast. Thirteen years to have lived in the eye and special credit of a prince, yet never during all that space to have abused this ability to any man's harm; to be enriched with no man's overthrow, to be kindled neither with grudge nor emulation, to benefit an infinite resort of daily suitors, to let down your calling to the need of mean subjects, to retain so lowly a stomach, such a facility, so mild a nature in so high a vocation, to undertake the tuition of learning and learned men,—these are indeed the kernels for the which the shell of your nobility seemeth fair and sightly; this is the sap for whose preservation the bark of your noble tree is tendered; this is the substance which maketh you worthy of those ornaments wherewith you are attired; and in respect of these good gifts, as I for my part have ever been desirous to discover an officious and dutiful mind towards your lordship, so will I never cease to betake the uttermost of my power and skill to your service."

Campion's admiration of Leicester is certainly a weak point in his character. His great superiority of intellect and his scholarship were united, say his biographers, with great modesty, and an easy pliability to the wishes of others. Protestant and Catholic writers alike praise his humility, his sweetness, his amiable manners, and his maidenly meekness. Charity thinks no evil, and reverence gives honour to great place. If St. Alphonsus might dedicate a book with fulsome flattery to Tanucci without suspicion to his sanctity and simplicity, I do not see how we can quarrel with Campion for this preface, though we know now that his patron had murdered his wife in 1560, by means of that exquisite villain Sir Richard Varney, and had become so notorious to the more knowing ones, that when Elizabeth proposed him for a husband of Mary Queen of Scots, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton

wrote to beseech her *in visceribus Christi* to prevent it, if she did not want her council to be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*, infamous for forcing a queen to marry a murderer, a poisoner, and a sorcerer.

But these crimes were not public; those were days of more than ordinary hypocrisy, and the secret workings of intrigue were harder to discover. Leicester appeared open and free, his manners were engaging, his treatment of dependents liberal. He was unpopular with his monopolies; but if any one had a suit to recommend, Leicester was the mediator; if a poor scholar had written a treatise, Leicester was his patron; if a Bishop sighed for his temporalities, Leicester was the man to get them. A position like his creates a circle of admirers blind to faults, and incredulous to rumours of inconsistent conduct.

Parsons remembers "the infinite praises that of all men were given to Campion at this time." When the queen asked Guzman, the Spanish ambassador, what he thought of the Oxford exercises, "Very well," he replied; "but I marvel not thereat considering the variety of good wits and talents there discovered, and that all the speakers came very well prepared beforehand; but I should desire to hear somewhat done extempore and without preparation." On this a number of men were at once sent for to Merton College, where, in presence of the ambassador, Dudley, Cecil, and others, they were made to dispute upon "fire." "No wonder they wax warm with such a subject," said Guzman. "Campion bore away most praise in this sudden encounter, as he did a little after for a certain rare oration that he was forced to extemporise before the queen at Woodstock, in which he was like to have lost himself utterly, partly through the haste, partly by the sudden great pomp wherewith the queen come forth to hear him, until after a few moments (as he was wont to tell) he remembered that she was but a woman, and he a man, which is the better sex, and that all the splendour and pomp which glittered in his eyes was but transitory vanity, and had no substance in it, by which, and similar cogitations, he was emboldened to go through with his speech, to the great contentation of the queen and court, and his own high commendation."

Cecil, as well as Dudley, took great interest in Campion's success, and "invited him with many hopes and promises to follow that course." Four years afterwards, when Campion had left England, Cecil said to Campion's pupil, Stanihurst, "It is a very great pity to see so notable a man leave his country, for indeed he was one of the diamonds of England."

Yet in 1581 Cecil was the chief author of his death, against the wishes of others of the council, as Parsons was told "by one that heard with his own ears the consultation about that matter." On the whole, in 1564, Campion was the most popular man in Oxford, where no man envied his triumphs. He did not reside long enough to take his doctor's degree; but he was made proctor and public orator, the highest posts compatible with his standing.

All these successes, says F. Parsons, put Campion into exceeding danger, by enticing him to follow a course of which his conscience disapproved; "for he was always a sound Catholic in his heart, and utterly condemned all the form and substance of the queen and council's new religion; and yet the sugared words of the great folks, especially of the queen, joined with pregnant hopes of speedy and great preferments, so enticed him that he knew not which way to turn." His youth, ambition, desire to satisfy the expectations of his friends, and emulation at the advance of his equals and inferiors pulled him back; while remorse of conscience, fear of hell, and an invincible persuasion of the truth of the Catholic doctrine and the falsehood of the Protestant opinion, pushed him onwards. He determined to compromise matters by temporising; his internal combat was long and dangerous, for he lacked the aid of the Sacraments and of spiritual direction; and though he prayed earnestly for light, yet he still hearkened to both sides inwardly, to see whether he could find sufficient reasons to allow his conscience to follow in peace the course to which his worldly interests so strongly inclined him.

This was the case also with Parsons for some years, and with many others, especially at the universities;—with young men, well accommodated in fellowships or otherwise, and provoked by infinite inducements to seek the preferments which the place and the country yielded, or at least to keep what they had; yet feeling that the religion on which these preferments depended was doubtful and therefore dangerous: hence they lived in great toil and torment of mind, loth to lose the hope of salvation, glad to hold their commodities without molestation of conscience, if it might be, ever in suspense, ever ready to listen to any reason that promised to remove their scruples.

The only safe anchor in this troubled water was, in Parsons's opinion, the study of the Fathers. "Whatever we had heard or conceived in the whole day for pulling out this thorn of conscience, and for smoothing the way to be Protestant, either by good fellowship and conversation with

Protestants themselves, or by hearing their sermons or reading their books, all this was dashed by one hour's reading of some work of the old holy doctors, and the wound of conscience was made green again, and as grievous as ever, by every page which spake of virtue and austerity, or of questions of controversy, which were settled there as clearly as if the Fathers had distinctly foreseen the tumults of these days."

It was in 1567 that Campion, having exhausted Aristotle and natural theology, had to turn to these authentic reporters of the Christian tradition; and for three whole years he was distracted with the various arguments for and against the open profession of his Catholic belief. He had begun with a conscientious examination of the controverted doctrines one by one; the unhistorical and illogical character of the new tenets was soon discovered; and as truth begets truth, and as a mind once cheated ever suspects fraud, he examined the points which he had been used to take for granted; here too the ground failed beneath him. But the consequences of his step were too fatal to his worldly interests to allow of any hurry. He consulted his friends. He went to any one, no matter what his views, who professed to be able to tell him something; but every conference pushed him on a step further.

An extract from his *Decem Rationes* will illustrate this: "When I was young," he says, "John Jewell, the Calvinist leader in England, was impudent enough to challenge the Catholics to a proof of their respective tenets from the works of the Fathers of the first six centuries. The challenge was accepted by some well-known men then in exile and poverty at Louvain. I venture to say that Jewell's craft, ignorance, roguery, and impudence, as exposed by those writers, did more good to the Catholic cause than any thing within my remembrance. A proclamation was immediately posted on the doors that none of the answers should be read or kept, though they had been squeezed out by a direct challenge. Every thinking man could see plainly that the Fathers were Catholic. . . ."

"Once also I familiarly questioned Tobie Mathew, now your greatest preacher, whose learning and good disposition endeared him to me, and asked him to tell me sincerely how a man who was such an assiduous student of the Fathers could take the side which he defended as true. He answered, 'If I believed them as well as read them, you would have good reason to ask me.' This is perfectly true; and I think he must still be of the same mind."

This challenge naturally called up Tobie, who answered in a *concio apologetica*, which Wood quotes, and which Parsons describes as rather vehement and rhetorical than with any show of sincerity. Of course he denied the charge. "Who affirmed it? Edmund Campion the Jesuit. And who denies it? Tobie Mathew the Christian. I avouch that neither sleeping or waking, standing or sitting, by day or by night, at home or abroad, in jest or in earnest, did I ever say it." However, Campion who had asserted it was dead for his faith, and Mathew was enjoying benefices and prospects which might be risked by the story being believed. And according to Parsons, Campion's friend Stanihurst declared that he had heard it from Campion at the very time of its occurrence.

Another of Campion's Christ-Church friends was reputed to be as cunning in the Scriptures as Mathew in the Fathers; this was Tarleton the "governor" of the young Sir Philip Sidney. He professed to prove his religion from the Bible alone, without the Fathers. Campion and he had an argument, in which "each party was to allege bare Scripture, only allowing the aid of tongues, comparison of text with text, and prayer." When Campion had produced many strong passages on the Catholic side, and had shown that they could not be evaded in Greek or Hebrew, and perceived that Tarleton could not bring any so clear for his side, and could only oppose wrangling interpretations out of his own head, Campion, says Parsons, resolved fully that, seeing both Scriptures and Fathers were wholly against the Protestant side, he would never follow it for temporal respects.

Campion had access to Leicester's ante-room whenever he pleased; here perhaps he met with Richard Cheney, the Bishop of Gloucester, a man of congenial nature, tastes, and studies. Cheney was a mild, persuasive, old man, very different from the rest of the Elizabethan Bishops, from whom he held aloof, as if he had been of a different communion. In the Convocation of 1553 he had tried to commit the Anglican body to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, but he was so far from being either Lutheran or Calvinist in other respects that in 1568 his flock complained of the "very strange, perilous, and corrupt doctrine, contrary to the Gospel," which he preached in his cathedral of Bristol, where his own fanatical clergy withstood him to the face. He warned his hearers that the new writers differed from each other, and were therefore not safe guides, but that the old fathers and doctors alone were to be followed; that any heretic might avouch Scripture, and that controversy would

be endless without the appeal to the Fathers; that Luther wrote a very ill book against free will, which Erasmus answered well; and that the consent of the Fathers was the only test by which he would be tried.

There was one more statement with which Cheney's Puritanical accusers were scandalised, though it was addressed, not so much to the Puritans, as to those numerous loose Catholics who would not give up the old faith, but were unwilling to submit to the penalties for not going to church. There was always a large party of this sort in England; and in 1562 some of their chief men had consulted the Fathers of the Council of Trent upon the matter, and had asked whether they might not with a safe conscience attend the common prayer and preaching. A committee was appointed to reply, who firmly but kindly pronounced it quite inadmissible for any Catholic to assist at the "new service, the offspring of schism, and the badge of hatred to the Church." But one proclamation was quite insufficient to remove the deep-rooted prejudice. The decision was confirmed by St. Pius V. in 1566, and Dr. Harding and Dr. Sanders were sent over to publish it afresh; it was solemnly recognised in a council of priests, convened by Parsons and Campion in July 1580, again promulgated by Cardinal Toletto, June 14, 1581; enforced in a circular of Dr. Allen, written by the Pope's direction, in 1592, and finally confirmed by Paul V. in a brief addressed to the English Catholics in September 1606. Besides all this, many books were printed, and many more circulated in manuscript, on the same question. From this we may judge how many English Catholics persisted in thinking that they might save their freedom and their goods by being present at common prayer and sermons. Cheney encouraged this idea. He would have recoiled from subverting what remained of Catholic faith. He only undermined it. He did not deny that attendance at the Protestant services was like bowing down in the house of Rimmon; but he quoted the example of Naaman to show that political motives might excuse a man's presence at a worship which his conscience abhorred.

"A question may be asked between the young maid and Naaman, whether a godly man may be at idol-service with his body, his heart being with God, without offence or sin? I say he may; and because you shall not think I am of this opinion only, I will bring you Peter Martyr, a learned man, and as famous as ever was in our time, being your own doctor [he had been Professor of Divinity at Oxford]; he says, a man may be present without offence. His words are these: 'Non enim simpliciter et omnibus modis

interdictum est hominibus ne in fanis præsentibus adsint, dum profani et execrandi ritus exercentur.'”

This was just the doctrine that Campion wanted. The two men agreed in execrating the innovators, and yet maintaining the duty of remaining in the Establishment. Was it not the ancient national Church, founded by apostolic authority, to be the repository of the faith and sacraments? If her vineyard was now usurped by the beasts of the forests, if the wild-boar was uprooting her vines, should her children forsake her in her affliction? No; though heretical Calvinists occupied her pulpits, her children need not desert their old homes. If Naaman might attend his king to the house of Rimmon, much more might we accompany our tyrant to our own churches, though heretics for a season occupied our places, and botchers had disfigured our ancient rites. Thus was the instance of Naaman generalised into a universal dispensation for all sects to huddle together, provided it was within the stone walls built for God's service in Catholic times. With all his patristic learning, I suppose Cheney had never lighted on the words of St. Hilary: “It is ill that a love of walls has seized you; it is ill that your veneration for God's Church lies in houses and buildings; it is ill that under this plea ye insinuate the name of peace. Is there any doubt that Antichrist is to sit in these? Mountains and woods, and lakes, and prisons are to me more safe; for in these the prophets, sojourning or sunk, still by God's Spirit prophesy.”

The acquaintance soon ripened into affection; Campion was continually visiting Cheney at Gloucester, reading in the Bishop's study, and borrowing books from his library, enjoying the closest familiarity, sharing the old man's sorrows, and listening to his complaints of the calumnies that assailed him. The Bishop exhorted his young friend never for a moment to swerve from the royal road of Church Councils and Fathers, and ever to put full faith in their consent. Campion saw the inconsistency of this advice, yet he allowed himself to be persuaded. He saw that the weapons which Cheney wielded against Puritans might be better used by Catholics against Cheney; he saw, and hesitated; yet he could not make up his mind to tell Cheney his doubts, to warn him of the untenableness of his position, or to entreat him, now that he was so near the kingdom of God, to take but one more step and secure it for ever.

Indeed, so far from Campion influencing his friend, Cheney had, on the contrary, fixed his eyes upon Campion as the man to carry on his work. Cheney alone of the Eliza-

bethan Bishops had the slightest pretensions to orthodoxy; alone confessed the living presence of Christ upon the altar, and the freedom of man's will; alone refused to persecute the Catholics of his diocese, or to waste his episcopal property by leases, exchanges, sales of lands, of timber, or even of the lead off the church-roof. He was planting that school in the Establishment whose latest fruits are the present Tractarians. Campion was to water what he had planted. He yielded half reluctantly to the Bishop's persuasions, and suffered himself to be ordained deacon, so as to be capable of preferment, and to be able to preach; not thinking, as he afterwards said, "that the matter had been as odious and abominable as it was."

As soon as he was ordained, troubles began to beset him; inwardly, "he took a remorse of conscience and detestation of mind." Outwardly, his familiarity with Cheney, and the reports of his opinions, made him suspected by his London friends. He still held his exhibition from the Grocer's Company, when in 1568 rumours of his heterodoxy reached the court of assistants, and they began to question him. Their records say that "to accord and clear the suspicions conceived of Edmund Campion, one of the Company's scholars, and that he may utter his mind in favouring the religion now authorised, it is agreed that between this and Candlemas next he shall come and preach at Paul's Cross, in London, or else the Company's exhibition to cease, and be appointed to another; and that he shall have warning thereof from Mr. Warden." Campion disliked the ordeal proposed; and a subsequent entry states that he, "being one of the Company's scholars, and suspected to be of unsound judgment in religion, petitioned them to postpone" the "clearing of himself herein by preaching at Paul's Cross unto Michaelmas." This was agreed to. Afterwards Campion attended a court of the Company "to know their pleasure as to this business;" he expressed great disinclination to preach at the Cross, and entreated, at all events, to be allowed more time for preparation. The court, taking in good part that he did not absolutely refuse, offered that he should preach first "at a less notable place than Paul's Cross," namely, St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook. Campion objected to this on the plea of being "a public person that could not do what he would, and, besides, charged with the education of divers worshipful men's children," and asked for a longer time. The Company would not consent to this, so he requested a note in writing, containing the precise demands they had to make; when finding that he could not comply with them, he re-

signed his exhibition, to which the Company appointed another man.

But he was soon to make a still more important resignation. Fully occupied as he must have been with his academical duties—he was Proctor in 1568-69—and with his pupils, and devoted as he was to the course of education, his duties did not occupy his whole attention, or stifle his misgivings of conscience and his distress. When he retired into himself, his thoughts were none of the pleasantest. He is reported to have declared more than once that soon after his ordination he began to feel extraordinary mental anguish: his orders appeared disorders, whose only cure was Catholicism. The dignities he once dreamed of had lost their allurements. If his ambition had once been to continue Cheney's work, and to succeed to his bishopric, now he plainly saw how Babylonish a captivity those gilded chains disguised. He was one of those favoured men whose falls are the direct occasions of their rise, and who may truly exclaim, "O felix culpa!"

"O benefit of ill, now I find true
That evil is by evil still made better,
And ruined love, when it is built anew,
Grows fairer than before, more strong, far greater."

The Grocers were driving him, his conscience was goading him, and his dearest friend was beckoning him away. Campion and Gregory Martin had been college companions for thirteen years, where they had their meals, their books, their ideas in common; they had studied under the same masters, had loved the same friends, were hated by the same enemies. Martin, like Campion, was a man of mark, "of extraordinary modesty and moderation," "the Hebraist, the Grecian, the poet, the honour and glory" of St. John's College. He had accepted a place in the Duke of Norfolk's family as governor to his boys; and though Philip, afterwards Earl of Arundel, did him no present credit, the young nobleman bore witness, by his holy death in 1595, to the good husbandry of his early tutor. In 1569, when the duke's troubles about the Queen of Scots began, all his household were commanded to attend common prayer and sermons; Martin, therefore, fled over the seas, and became a Catholic. And from Douai he wrote to Campion to warn him against the ambition that was leading him astray into the wide path where so many great wits had perished in those evil days. He begged him not to fear for poverty; their friendship was too pure to admit such difficulties. "If we two can but live together," he wrote, "we can live on

nothing ; if this is too little, I have money ; if this fails, one thing is left,—‘*Qui seminant in lacrymis, in exultatione mentent,*’—they that sow in tears shall reap in joy.”

Thus driven and thus drawn, Campion left Oxford, on the feast of St. Peter in Chains, August 1, 1569, on the termination of his proctorial office, of which he rendered an account in the usual Latin oration. But though Father Parsons gives this date for his finally quitting Oxford, his connection with the university probably continued some time longer, as I shall show in my next chapter.

R. S.

Correspondence.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

SIR,—In requesting to bear a part in the controversy raised by “X. Y. Z.,” I do so under protest. I cannot recognise the propriety of ecclesiastical education being called in question, as to its most fundamental principles, by the anonymous correspondents of a lay periodical. My own purpose in writing, therefore, is purely defensive. I heartily wish that the general body of your readers could remain in that state of mind, in which they were before “X. Y. Z.’s” first communication. But since his two letters may have imbued many persons with his own opinions ; and since I believe those opinions to be most mistaken, pernicious, and anti-Catholic ; my wish, and my only wish, is to do all in my power that this effect may be neutralised.

I find myself differing from “X. Y. Z.” so essentially and fundamentally, that my difficulty is to find any point of agreement from which our argument may proceed. To discover such point of agreement, I must go back very far indeed ; and I must crave therefore the indulgence of your readers, if I start with the enunciation of certain very elementary truths.

1. We are fulfilling the end for which God created us, so far, and so far only, as we make it our one business and pursuit to grow in loving and serving God ; in conquering our various habits of sin and imperfection ; in bringing the thought of the invisible world to influence our whole life in this visible scene. The various mental constitutions which God has given us, the various external circumstances in which He has placed us,—these are indeed most widely different from each other. And consequently, the particular sphere within which we are to work out our sanctification, the particular duties which are to be our training towards perfection, the particular methods of mental discipline which we are to practise,—all these are most widely different also. But such differences do

not affect in the slightest degree the great principle above stated. That principle is no less true in the case of layman than of priest, in the case of secular than of religious. The one main work which God has given here below to all of us alike, is the labouring for our own sanctification. And as He has assigned to us the work, so also He has given us the fullest means of accomplishing it, by those plentiful supplies of grace, which He is far more ready to give than we (alas!) to ask. Nor has He been contented with this. He has so constituted our nature, that the life to which He calls us is the life far most conducive even to our earthly happiness. The affections, when concentrated on Him who is their true Scope instead of being dissipated on worldly objects, afford ordinarily a degree of tranquil, long-continued, uncloying satisfaction, which worldly men do not even imagine.

“Nec lingua potest dicere,
Nec littera exprimere,
Expertus potest credere,
Quid sit Jesum diligere.”

2. The great majority of men give small attention indeed to this great work, and experience very little craving for this true and lasting enjoyment. The chief interest and occupation of their thoughts, is the pursuit of those various worldly objects which are accessible: sensual gratification; intellectual gratification; the praise of men; the exercise of power; the pleasurable sense of their own dignity; and the like. Great numbers, specially of non-Catholics, follow these objects quite recklessly and unreservedly, being altogether indifferent how grievously they offend God in the pursuit. There is some not inconsiderable number, however, who take a higher standard; who sincerely strive, with greater or less success, against the commission of mortal sin. But the great majority, even of these men, take very little account of that great principle on which I have been insisting. Of this great majority, it may be said no less truly than of the former class, that the chief interest and occupation of their thoughts lie in the pursuit of worldly objects; that the methodically applying to the work of their own sanctification holds a most subordinate place, or rather no place at all, in their plan of life; and that they are not in any way striving to make the case otherwise. Whatever else may be said of such men, one thing is included in the very terms of my statement. They assign a most subordinate place, or rather no place at all, to that which God intended to be the one business and interest of their life.

3. Fallen man is most miserably prone to the pursuit of these worldly objects; their natural influence over his will is most constant and powerful. It is only therefore by repeated and unwearyed recourse to prayer, self-examination, meditation, that real advance can be made in the interior life. Let such exercises be suspended, rapid at once is our decline towards the worldly vortex. And this decline is the decay of happiness no less than of virtue;

for by one of those strange paradoxes which abound in our inward life, the direct pursuit of earthly enjoyment is the worst possible means of obtaining it.

I can have no doubt that "X. Y. Z.," as being a Catholic, will admit the substantial truth of these principles; and they may furnish, therefore, that point of agreement which I was seeking. For I am able to deduce from them at once a conclusion, which is of extreme moment in the present controversy.

We see, then, that there is one arduous yet most happy occupation, which God intended to be the main work and interest of our lives; which the enormous majority of men miserably neglect; and in which careful instruction and manuduction is of the greatest advantage. Christian education, therefore, will be good, in precise proportion as it forwards this great work. There are therefore two principal and paramount tests, whereby we should estimate the value of any educational proposal. First, we should consider how far the proposed system of education will help its recipients towards making progress in that great work of their lives, their own sanctification; and secondly, we should consider how far it will help them towards influencing others in the same holy direction. The second of these ends is in all cases of great moment; for that the good should be influential and the bad otherwise, is *the* one paramount social blessing. But in the case of priests this second end assumes quite a special importance, because it is their very profession to impress religious truth on the great body of Catholics.

The main staple of my letter will consist, then, in appreciating "X. Y. Z.'s" theories by these two tests. And I think that the three following particulars will embrace all the proposals on which he lays stress, in regard to the principles on which ecclesiastical education should be conducted. First, he urges—I use under protest his own language—that clerical students should be governed on "the principle of confidence," and not on "the principle of police." Secondly, that far greater scope should be given to the development of the affections, than is now the case. Thirdly, that there should be far greater facility and encouragement for the study of miscellaneous literature. On each of these particulars I will join issue, and advocate opinions contradictory to his in the very extremest degree. First, I will consider these three proposals in their bearing on the priest's individual character, and afterwards in their bearing on his general influence.

First, then, "X. Y. Z." desires, that clerical students should be governed on "the principle of confidence," and not on "the principle of police." These terms are by no means fairly chosen to express his meaning; but that meaning is sufficiently clear. By the "principle of police," he means the habit of superiors being on principle constantly in the students' company. By the "principle of confidence," he means the opposite habit;—the habit of leaving the students without superiors for a very considerable portion of each

day, to form a kind of commonwealth by themselves. Accordingly, he holds up, not for our warning but for our imitation, the example of Protestant public schools in England, where such is both the practice and the theory. Such then as I have stated is undoubtedly my opponent's meaning ; though there is one passage in his last letter, which looks in quite an opposite direction. To this passage I shall specially refer in due course.

Now, in the first place, there is one most important purpose, at which all Catholic seminaries aim in the whole matter of government. There are necessarily a great number of rules on the various details of daily life : what is to be the time of study, what of recreation ; what is forbidden in the former period, and what in the latter ; and numberless particulars of a similar nature. It is held in Catholic seminaries to be a most important method of sanctification to the student, that he should be trained to obey these various rules, on supernatural motives, and for God's sake. This habit, it is considered, will give him most important help, towards recollection of God's Presence, mortification of the will, and other invaluable blessings. Some superiors regard the violation of the rules as a venial sin, others as only a grave imperfection. But all agree in the essential principle, that this observance of rule, for God's sake, is a very important part of ecclesiastical training, and that no one who habitually neglects it should be admitted to ordination.

Does "X. Y. Z.," or does he not, consider that Catholic seminaries have rightly judged in all this? He has not even adverted to it. Yet it is no minor or subordinate particular in their administration, but among its most prominent and characteristic features. He cannot wish us, I suppose, *to take for granted* that the whole thing is a complete mistake, without our hearing one single argument against it. I must assume, therefore, for the purpose of my reasoning, that he admits the great and important benefits derived from this method of sanctification.

Yet let this once be admitted, my opponent's proposal assumes quite a grotesque appearance. He cannot gravely say, that if a number of untrained students are left to themselves, they will spontaneously learn to observe with careful exactness a number of minute rules, with the view of promoting their own sanctification. Plainly the opposite result will ensue ; and the constant presence of those in authority (with the younger students at least) is absolutely necessary, if this method of sanctification is to be practised. Those persons in authority need not necessarily be the superiors themselves ; it will suffice, if they are commissioned by the superiors, imbued with their spirit, and enjoying their confidence. Their presence will act as a removal of temptation ; an encouragement to the well-disposed ; a check and restraint on those who are inclined to neglect and disobedience.

But in commenting on this opposite principle, the principle of surveillance, "X. Y. Z." most strangely supposes, that the rulers of a college content themselves with the infliction of punishment when-

ever transgression is discovered; and that they never explain and enforce the immense spiritual benefit of obedience. I make a most opposite supposition. I suppose, as a matter of course, that they urge this in every possible way:—in formal conferences and sermons; in private and familiar conversation; most efficaciously of all, by their own example, by the steadiness and regularity with which they themselves conform to all the regulations of the house. If any where the case be otherwise,—and “F.” thinks that in some places it is otherwise,—here is a most serious practical corruption which clamours for reform. But I will venture to say that no seminary ever advocated *on principle* any such disastrous omission.

Let us now come to the more general question. Let us see how the whole ecclesiastical spirit will be affected, by the practice of surveillance on the one side, or the practice of allowing unchecked mutual intercourse on the other side. I suppose that such tempers as the following will be admitted by all good Catholics, as among the most prominent constituents of the true Christian character, and most especially, therefore, of the true ecclesiastical spirit. First and foremost, most sensitive purity: and this virtue, I need not say, assumes quite a position by itself and separate from all others, in the case of those who are being trained for celibacy. Other such qualities will be (2) constant recollectedness and remembrance of God’s Presence; (3) a deep practical conviction, that interior perfection is *the* one important thing, and (by consequence) the valuing of every other object simply in proportion to its bearing on that end; (4) a burning desire that sanctity and love of God may be widely diffused among men; (5) an abiding and deeply-seated sense of sin, and a consequent tendency to welcome all the sufferings which may befall as most justly deserved. It would be most easy to proceed with the enumeration of such tempers, but my general meaning is sufficiently explained.

Now it is difficult to imagine any arrangement more efficacious for diffusing this spirit, than that professed in Catholic seminaries. It is, that eminently holy and interior men shall be chosen as superiors, and that they shall be on terms of constant and familiar intercourse with the students. The effect of example is proverbially far more important than that of precept; and the unstudied manifestations of deep piety are far more persuasive and influential than its formal inculcation. By living with such men, we catch as it were the holy infection, and we love virtue in its attractive embodiment. But all this has been stated by “F.” with far greater force and attractiveness of language than I can hope to command. I will only add, therefore, that I cannot even guess at my opponent’s meaning, when he says that such a system as this “helps to deaden the sense of responsibility,” and “checks rather than fosters the development of character.” These serious evils, I think, exist in great intensity, not under this, but under the opposite system: as I now proceed to argue.

What, then, will ordinarily befall, in proportion as students are

left to themselves? On the particular virtue of purity, here is most awful matter for consideration. A hint will suffice for what I wish to convey. Your readers, if they will think for one moment, must readily see what fearful perils will be constantly imminent, and how impossible it will be to guard against the entrance of some youth, whose imagination is already polluted. From one such youth the disease will spread with the rapidity and malignity of a pestilence.

But we may dwell on consequences less appalling than these. Human nature, in proportion as it is left to itself, tends to worldly things, and recoils from spiritual. In all of us piety declines, if we are not brought into contact, as with the invisible power of Grace, so also with the visible influence of books or persons breathing a higher spirit than ourselves. The wretched students whom I am imagining will lose the glorious liberty of the Gospel, and become the degraded worshipers of cleverness and of "pluck." Take some one of the number, endued with great physical energy and with quick superficial talents; one, at the same time, who little values purity of intention and communion with God: here is the one who will carry every thing before him. They are to be removed from the wholesome influence of those older and better than themselves; and, behold, here is the sorry idol which they will bow down to and worship. They will become distrustful of their own higher aspirations, and ashamed of being simply on God's side. A base and cowardly atmosphere of human respect will stifle their energies, and render impossible all free growth and development of the interior life. And thus our priests will themselves be formed on those very principles, which it is their highest duty to denounce, to expose, and to resist.

I am very confident that all the phenomena of Protestant public schools most thoroughly bear out the above statement. I was myself educated at one of these, and I have at various times come across many facts relating to them; and it is my firm conviction, that more utterly detestable educational institutions never existed. I had intended to enter at some length on this theme; but have, on reconsideration, thought it better to change my plan. All which "X. Y. Z." claims as "certain" is, that "it is *quite possible* for a boy to pass through one of them unscathed," and that "*some* actually do"! But he fairly states, that however great were the proved superiority of Catholic colleges in point of morality, he should ascribe such superiority wholly to the difference of creed. I should be wasting my time, then, in adducing facts against these schools; because I shall always, of course, be open to the retort, that the evils complained of arise from their Protestantism, and not from their disciplinary arrangements. Certainly I am glad of any excuse, which may save me from the odious task of going into greater detail.

I am inclined, so far as I am acquainted with facts, to agree strongly with "F." on the great importance of bringing to bear, here in England, some more satisfactory arrangement for vacations. But I cannot in the least concur with a further remark which he makes, nor can I wonder that "X. Y. Z." claims it as a concession of the

whole point at issue. "F." thinks that if the vacation arrangements are to remain in their present state, the system of surveillance at college should be a good deal relaxed. Surely common sense would dictate the very contrary conclusion. Taking vacation evils at their worst, they will only afford a stronger reason for promoting more earnestly the constant intercourse of superiors with students during the rest of the year. If there is great danger that, during one short period, the students may fall into bad company,—that is only the stronger reason why we should well saturate them (while we can) with the wholesome influences of good society.

I can find nothing in my opponent's two letters which, even on the surface, would appear an objection to these arguments, except one single remark. He says that youths of saintly disposition "are the exception and not the rule;" and that the system pursued in all Catholic seminaries "may occasionally make a saint by accident, but its natural tendency is to make sneaks by the score." Let me reply to this.

Of course, under all circumstances, the number of saintly men, or of men who in practice are pretty thoroughly consistent, is comparatively small. But I am very confident, both from theory and facts, that in a seminary, efficiently conducted on existing principles, a very large majority of students will at least thoroughly admire and revere the interior spirit; and that they will practise to a considerable extent, some more others less consistently, the spiritual lessons which they are taught. As for those, comparatively much fewer, who will not choose to be raised so high as this, they will be sent away; and the Church will be saved from the calamity of having such men for priests. Indeed, I have "X. Y. Z.'s" own authority for this favourable statement, on the moral and spiritual working of our seminaries. The French clergy are educated to a man on that "Continental system" which he denounces; yet he tells us that "of their zeal and devotion it is impossible to speak too highly." So far, then, from this system being adapted only to a few exceptional cases, it is fitted to train a whole clergy into habits of most admirable zeal and devotion. Either my opponent must say that "sneaks" may be most excellent priests, or he must recant his original statement.

In fact, as to this word "sneaks," I should like some explanation. What is the precise evil, described by Scripture or by ascetical writers as injurious to spiritual advancement, which my opponent denotes by that word? And again, what are those "manly virtues" which young persons will learn, by the mere fact of being left to themselves? And what exact place have these virtues in the formation of a true ecclesiastical spirit? I cannot even guess. The word "sneaks," I suppose, is taken from the vocabulary of Protestant schoolboys; and I am most happy to think, that any one of our ordinary ecclesiastical students would be regarded by *them* as a "sneak." As far as my knowledge and experience extends, any one would be so designated by the generality of Protestant schoolboys, in proportion as he should more fully carry out the spirit of our

Lord's counsel : " if any man strike thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also ; and whoever shall force thee to go one mile, go with him other two."

In one remark of " X. Y. Z.," he seems to think that there is some kind of connection, between the fact of a superior living ordinarily with students, and the totally different fact of his distrusting their word. This is quite an unaccountable misapprehension. I fully admit that the result would be very evil, if young men found that a regular and conscientious life did not gain for them confidence ; if their movements were still watched with suspicion, and their assertions received with doubt. Here is one advantage of the superior mixing with them constantly and unreservedly : he will know whom he should trust, and whom he should not. And no result is more happy, than when this feeling of mutual confidence can become widely prevalent between the two classes ; when the superiors can be as sure of a youth's conduct in their absence as in their presence ; and when the youth feels himself all the more bound to remember God's Presence, because the superior's eye is removed.

I must not conclude this part of the controversy, without mentioning one statement of " X. Y. Z.," to which I have already referred, and which certainly is of most opposite tendency to his other remarks. He says, " it must not be supposed that I would say a word to discountenance the friendly and familiar intercourse of masters and boys, grounded on a genuine feeling of sympathy on the one hand, and responded to by a trustful and affectionate respect on the other. Such intercourse I hold to be most eminently desirable." I maintain that this cannot be accepted as an explanation, for that it is a direct contradiction, of his original thesis. I maintain this on two grounds.

(1.) If there be " friendly and familiar intercourse of masters and boys," the former will be cognisant of most occasions on which the latter break the rules. Are they to exhibit indifference as to such transgression ? On the contrary, they will of course express disapprobation. And much more will they express disapprobation, when things are said or done which are intrinsically wrong, or when views are advocated at variance with Christian principle. Here, then, we have a body of superiors, constantly mixing with the students, and expressing disapprobation whenever rules are broken or wrong things said or done. If this be not surveillance, and of the strictest kind, I should like to know what is.

(2.) If this last statement of " X. Y. Z." be admitted as his view, his whole appeal to Protestant public schools becomes nugatory and absurd. The separation of masters from boys is no accident of that system ; it is the one fundamental idea, on which it is founded, and on which it is defended. Those who praise those institutions, do so invariably on the express ground of this separation. They urge that a boy acquires various sorts of " manly virtue," by the very fact of being thus brought into unrestrained contact with his companions. They boast that a Protestant youth is really educated for

his future position; that he learns the invaluable art of pushing himself forward in the world, and holding his own, from the very fact that at school he is *obliged* to "hold his own," that he has practically no appeal to the masters, and must trust therefore for defence to his own "courage and spirit." To introduce the "familiar intercourse of masters and boys," would simply be to revolutionise the whole. I shall never forget, after my most dreary school reminiscences, how touched and delighted I was, by the relation between governors and governed which I found existing in a Catholic college. This statement of mine, on the essentialness of this separation to the very notion of a Protestant public school, I will corroborate by the strongest authority which can well be adduced on such a matter. These, then, are Dr. Stanley's remarks, in his *Life of Dr. Arnold* :

"In this constitution [of English public schools] there were peculiarities of far greater importance in his eyes, for good or evil, than any mere imaginative associations;—the peculiarities *which distinguish the English public-school system from almost every other system of education in Europe, and which are all founded on the fact of so large a number of boys being left for so large a portion of their time to form an independent society of their own*, in which the influence that they exercise over each other is far greater than can possibly be exercised by the masters, even if multiplied beyond their present number.

"How keenly he felt the evils resulting from this system, and the difficulty of communicating to it any real Christian character, will be evident to any one who knows the twelfth Sermon in his second volume, in which he unfolded, at the beginning of his career, the causes which had led good men to declare, that 'public schools are the seats and nurseries of vice;' or the three Sermons on 'Christian Schools,' in his fifth volume, in which, with the added experience of ten years, he analysed the six evils by which he supposed that great schools were likely to be corrupted, and to be changed from the likeness of God's people to that of a den of thieves.

"Sometimes he would be led to doubt whether it were really compatible with the highest principles of education; sometimes he would seem to have an earnest and almost impatient desire to free himself from it. Still, on the whole, it was always on a reformation, not in an overthrow, of the existing constitution of the school, that he endeavoured to act. 'Another system,' he said, 'may be better in itself; but I am placed in this system, and am bound to try what I can make of it.'"*

* It will be observed in the text how very far from confident Dr. Arnold himself was, on the value of that system with which circumstances had connected him. Again, let the following passage be observed, written by Dr. Arnold himself: "I am a coward about schools, and yet I have not the satisfaction of being a coward *κατα προαιρεσιν*; for I am inclined to think that the trials of a school are useful to a boy's after character, and thus I dread not to expose my boys to it; while, on the other hand, the immediate effect of it is so ugly, that, like washing one's hands with earth, one shrinks

The only value, then, I think, of my opponent's statement on which I have just been commenting, is to show what singularly small attention he has given to the task, of thinking out his own views with any accuracy or consistency.

Having sufficiently considered the first of his proposals, I proceed to the second; viz. that far greater scope should be given to the affections.

I admit readily that the evil is very great indeed, if in any particular instance the great Objects of Faith—our Creator, our Redeemer, our Heavenly Mother, and the rest—are not so prominently exhibited, so efficaciously impressed, both on the intellect and the imagination, as to elicit deep devotional fervour. And if this task *were* any where neglected, a general impression might not unnaturally spring up, such as that to which my opponent refers, that "strong natural affections are a disqualification for the priesthood." But surely "X. Y. Z." will admit, that if this *be* the case in any seminary, it is a mere practical corruption requiring reform. No one will say that the principle of conduct, *avowed* any where, is the purposely abstaining from such an exhibition of Divine Truth, as may elicit the keenest emotions, and fully satisfy the most lively affections.

I observe, however, that both "F." and "A. B. C." ascribe here to "X. Y. Z." a totally different meaning; they consider that he refers to earthly objects of affection. His letter, on the whole, gives me the same impression, though it were to be wished he had made his meaning clearer; his argument, indeed, drawn from F. Newman's comment on St. Paul, can hardly have any other drift. I may assume, then, I suppose, that he is intending to speak against what is undoubtedly held as an essential principle in our colleges, the prohibition of what are called "particular friendships." On this narrow interpretation, however, of his meaning, nine-tenths of his arguments are totally irrelevant. He has laid his chief stress on the great importance of priests having warm and tender hearts. What on earth has this to do with "particular friendships"? Unless, indeed, my opponent will maintain the impious paradox (as I am sure he will not), that contemplative saints are cold-hearted beings, and that the Creator is no sufficient object for the affections which

from dirting them so grievously in the first stage of the process." "X. Y. Z." comments very justly on "the marked improvement in the character of the public schools," which "is mainly owing to the singular gifts and extraordinary influence of the late Dr. Arnold." Here is the theory of such schools, as stated by this eminent improver of them; their first effect is to be moral depravity. Is this, then, the model which it is desired that Catholic Bishops shall follow in the discipline of their colleges? Are they expected to reform these into a shape, in which the first effect on the neophyte shall be an initiation into vice? For Dr. Arnold himself, I have always entertained the warmest admiration and regard; but I am very confident that the system, into which he was accidentally thrown, is in itself so utterly rotten, that no efforts of a saint, much less even of a Dr. Arnold, could make it tolerable. *Delenda est Carthago.*

He has implanted. The only argument, therefore, which remains in the slightest degree available to him, is that which he derives from St. Paul's character, as commented on by F. Newman. 'St. Paul,' argues my opponent, 'is the type of a large class of holy men who have warm and eager human affections. Our existing mode of training clerical students, through the prohibition of particular friendships, must wholly fail in dealing with such men. Hence, either they must remain excluded from the priesthood, or our existing maxims must be revolutionised.'

My opponent's notion, then, would seem to be, that a character like St. Paul's would be deprived of all opportunity for free growth and development, through the prohibition of particular friendships. And yet this notion is so very preposterous, that I hesitate in ascribing it to him without very strict and unmistakable evidence. St. Paul and St. Timothy, I suppose, if they were fellow-students, would be always separating themselves from the rest, to enjoy each other's undisturbed society. Any third person, coming to join them, would feel from their manner that his presence is an intrusion. They would abound in little confidences and topics of interest, peculiar to themselves, and to which the others are not admitted. If circumstances prevent them from meeting, they are restless and dissatisfied. Such, that I may not descend to further trivialities, are the kind of phenomena contemplated in the prohibition of "particular friendships." And if St. Paul would have regarded these phenomena with simple disgust, I suppose he would have suffered no great restraint or repression of character from their prohibition.

On the other hand, our existing system affords both great scope and great encouragement to the healthy development of human affection; and specially to such development as will be most suitable for a priest. Suppose a student love to trace the various marks of grace in those around him, and from his very love for them gives up this or that gratification, which, though innocent in him, may be to them a scandal: here is a very Pauline development of human affection. Or suppose he feels specially drawn to one, of whom he sees that, under a rough and unattractive exterior, there lies hid a real and earnest desire of serving God. Suppose that, disregarding personal inconvenience, he labours assiduously at removing the difficulties and perplexities of such a youth, at protecting him from conversational oppression and bullying, at making others understand him, nay, at making the good youth understand himself. Once more: suppose our student is known to every one as ready to lend a most willing ear, and give most thoughtful and considerate advice, in any case of personal perplexity or distress. Lastly, suppose he is recognised by all as ever most ready to surrender his own gratification at the wish of others. Does my opponent suppose that, in such cases as these, our existing system would lead to the discouragement and repression of such dispositions? Any really good superior would undoubtedly visit them with the warmest approbation and sympathy.

It is quite certain, however, that "X. Y. Z." has totally failed to seize Father Newman's meaning, in his masterly analysis of St. Paul's character. Father Newman states distinctly that, whereas saints may be divided into the two classes which he describes, the vocation of one class is fully as high as that of the other. "X. Y. Z.," on the contrary, with equal distinctness, says the precise reverse. He says that the present method of discipline may be very good for "canonised saints," but not "for the common run of youths, who are very unlike them." Either he must admit that our existing seminary system is very fit to train a St. Paul or a St. Chrysostom,—and to say this is simply to sing a palinode of his whole theory,—or else he must maintain, that the future St. Paul belongs to the "common run of youths," and is very inferior in vocation to the future St. Aloysius and St. Stanislaus.

I conclude, then, that whereas "X. Y. Z.'s" first suggestion was in the highest degree unreasonable and mischievous, his second is more probably altogether unmeaning; but that if it have a meaning, if he really wishes the prohibition of "particular friendships" to be discontinued, the second proposal is almost as mischievous as the first. I pass on now to the third and last.

My opponent, then, had he the power, would throw the whole field of literature much more widely open to clerical students than is now done. And that his meaning may be more exactly understood, I will observe that the entire mass of non-religious books may be divided, for our present purpose, into three distinct classes.

The first class is very miscellaneous. In this class I include (1) the whole extent of mathematical and physical science; (2) works on the scientific structure of language; (3) all books of geography and travels, so far as the latter refer merely to places and not to men; (4) of chronology and historical annals, by which latter name I mean to express such historical works as treat merely on external events, and do not aim at any vivid illustration of human nature; (5) such poetry as is merely descriptive of natural scenery and beauty. All these books, widely differing in other respects, agree in presenting a broad contrast to those which I shall mention in the third class. And in regard to these books, without exception, there is no exclusiveness of principle at all in our seminaries; they are most freely and ungrudgingly admitted. I never heard of any objection to them, based on grounds of moral and religious discipline.

In the second class I place works on metaphysics and psychology, and still more works touching on religious questions, written by non-Catholics. The admission of these is no doubt greatly objected to, and I think most justly, until their contents have been carefully sifted and examined. But the grounds of this exclusion are so totally unconnected with the matters treated by "X. Y. Z.," that it would be irrelevant to pursue the matter further.

The third, then, and far the largest class remains, which may be

called by the special name of "literature." In this class are included all those books, which contain a picture of human nature as delineated by worldly men ;—all those books, in which the writers, consciously or unconsciously, exhibit individual or collective man as seen from a worldly point of view. If any books do not exhibit human nature at all, they fall under one or other of the two preceding classes. If they depict, whether in theory or in example, the various pursuits, aspirations, characters, of the mass of men, as estimated by the one true standard, they are religious books ; whether they take the shape of sermons and essays, or history, or didactic tales. But the class of books now in question depicts all this, not from the true, but from the false point of view. I am speaking, I repeat, of books, in which these things are described or exhibited, not with reprobation, as by the religionist ; but with sympathy and agreement, as by writers who are themselves imbued with the same worldly principles. These books describe or exhibit (to use my opponent's most forcible language) "the waywardness of intellect, the vehemence of passion, the feebleness of principle, the susceptibility of sin, in a word, all which savours of the old Adam in man." But they describe or exhibit all this, not as *being* miserable and sinful, nor with any reference (expressed or implied) to the Gospel standard ; but merely as an assemblage of *facts*, which go to make up the whole complex picture of human life.

There are some few books undoubtedly, of which it may be difficult to say, with certainty, in which of these classes they are properly placed, or which belong partly to one and partly to the other. But on the whole this division will be found, I think, most practical and intelligible.

I will call books of this last class by the special name "literature ;" and there is no question, that the introduction of this "literature" among the students is regarded with extreme suspicion in most Catholic seminaries. They may differ a good deal from each other, as to the particular books which are absolutely and peremptorily excluded ; but the whole class is viewed with aversion and distrust. "X. Y. Z." desires that the student should be encouraged, and even advised, to read such works ; I maintain, on the contrary, speaking broadly and generally, that the less he has to do with them the better. And on this point issue is now to be joined.

I am now, then, to consider the effect which would be produced on the personal character of our students, by such an innovation as my opponent proposes. In fairness, however, to him, your readers must remember, that this is by no means the chief ground on which he urges his recommendation ; he urges it rather as giving the future priest more means of influencing the educated world. This latter reason I am afterwards to treat, with the care which its importance deserves ; but I must first consider the question, which comes first in order, the effect on individual character.

"X. Y. Z.'s" own opinions are certainly extreme enough. "It is difficult," he says, "to see why . . . ecclesiastical students should

be left in ignorance, even were it possible, of the existence and romance of a passion, which *in boyhood is not likely to be seriously felt*, and which in manhood they will be called upon, not ignorantly, but deliberately, to abjure." Now this sentence contains two propositions so amazing, that I doubt if any thing the least like them was ever said by a Catholic before.

(1) My opponent thinks that the "romance" of earthly "passion" should be studied by boys, at an age when they are too young "seriously to feel" it. The importance is often inculcated of placing the great Objects of faith as clearly as possible before the youngest, in order that, as they grow up and their affections unfold, the Objects may be already familiar on which those affections may most suitably repose. "X. Y. Z." seems to think it only fair that God should not be alone in the field; that every possible facility and encouragement should be given on the other side also, in case the affections (as they grow to maturity) may thus tend to develop themselves in the lower instead of the higher direction.

(2) The second proposition implied in the above passage is this: 'No one can be said to abjure marriage "*deliberately*" who has not studied the "romance" of earthly "passion." Those high saints who have lived in total and childlike seclusion, nay, the Mother of God herself, did not choose virginity with such true "deliberation" as does a youth who has given himself freely to the contemplation of love-scenes, in novels and other secular literature.' What is to be said of such a thinker as this, when he comes forward to instruct the body of Catholic Bishops in the true mode of training priests?

Apart, however, from all criticism on the writer, let me meet his suggestions on their own ground. First, I will consider one part of the subject, which is small indeed in extent, but paramount in importance; and afterwards I will enter on the more general question.

First, then, how far is it reasonable to expect, that youths destined for celibacy shall be encouraged to study the "romance" of earthly "passion" without most serious danger to their purity? I am not at all meaning that every novel is included in this question, merely because its hero and heroine marry at the end. There are some novels, I suppose, which might without harm be permitted at certain exceptional periods, as *e. g.* during vacation time; and the evils of which, if they were permitted at *all* times, would be altogether different from those which we are now considering. I am taking "X. Y. Z.'s" statement as it stands, *viz.*: that the "romance" of earthly "passion" may be put before students without serious danger to their purity. Now "F." has expressed himself on this head most beautifully and persuasively; and I must say that "X. Y. Z." has made no attempt at all to meet his arguments. Following, therefore, in "F.'s" steps, I will thus argue.

The happiness to be enjoyed by the gratification of earthly passion, is a far more congenial thought to the natural man, than the thought of joys which are in truth far greater,—the joy of a tranquil and interior spirit, or the future bliss of heaven. It is this very

evil, against which it is desired to protect our youths, in training them to habits of careful and regular meditation. By pondering on the great prize which is offered to us hereafter, we more and more learn to *feel* its attractiveness; earthly pleasures become more insignificant to us, heavenly more important. To study the romance of passion, then, is precisely so far to undo all that meditation does; it restores earthly objects to that preëminence, which our fallen nature is only too ready to concede them. The *least* evil which would follow from this, in the case of ecclesiastical students, would be, that they should give up their vocation altogether; that they should seek the innocent enjoyment of that happiness, which has been so vividly depicted. In other words, the least evil which would follow from this way of bringing up ecclesiastical students would be, that there should remain no ecclesiastical students to *be* brought up at all.

But suppose a poor youth to retain his intention of seeking ordination, what then ensues? Instead of earnestly enforcing on him the unrivalled character of that happiness, which as a Christian he may most surely enjoy both here and hereafter, you do the very reverse; you do every thing in your power that he may form the most glowing picture (I may add also the most wildly delusive) of a happiness which can never innocently be his. The very temptation to indulge in such pictures, as "F." most truly says, "has to be resisted by him like temptation to sin;" and you do all in your power to make the temptation *irresistible*. Plainly, the reading most attractive delineations of earthly love tends most powerfully, in many cases quite unrestrainably, towards our delighting to feed our imagination, again and again, with every detail of the picture which we have received. I cannot imagine any one denying this, who has the least knowledge of human nature. And the evil is precisely greatest in those, who have the greatest capability of loving God, and whom "X. Y. Z." is so commendably anxious not to repel from the priesthood; I mean, youths of keen and lively feelings.

But what kind of probability is there, that with the great mass of students the evil will stop here? Earthly passion has its very characteristic, in the circumstance of its tending ultimately to that, which in the unmarried is among the foulest of sins; this is the very particular, wherein it differs from other human affections. I am very far indeed from meaning, that thoughts of this kind are ordinarily in the mind of persons "in love;" but I say that the feeling, which these persons experience, does in reality tend to what I have mentioned. Now, even under most favourable circumstances, even when the mind is assiduously trained in the highest direction, the preservation of purity in youths is among the most arduous and anxious of tasks. A constant and lifelong conflict against even the approaches of evil, is the main lesson earnestly enforced on their conscience. But what will be the effect, if they are permitted, nay encouraged, to imbue their imagination with attractive pictures of a passion, which tends in its own nature to that very indulgence, against which they are to be thus sedulously guarded? As to the frightful

results which must follow, if those who are to be priests fall into the unspeakable misery of a polluted imagination,—on this, in addressing Catholics, it would be impertinent to enlarge.

All this would hold, even on the hypothesis that it is really possible to make a distinction of such books; that it is possible to admit those which treat on the romance of passion, and yet exclude those which are directly suggestive of evil thoughts. But it is quite a delusion, I am confident, to suppose that any such distinction can really be carried out. My opponent, indeed, thinks that “the line of demarcation is not usually difficult to draw;” and proceeds to say that “nobody *e. g.* would put *Don Juan* into the hands of boys.” But it is not an openly and confessedly flagitious book like *Don Juan*, which is dangerous *in the beginning*; an innocent mind would recoil in disgust from so truly bestial a production. It is where pictures of sensuality are seen in close connection with pictures of human affection, where the two are presented as it were in one united exhibition, that the first process of corruption will take place.

Now, curiously enough, the very Number of your periodical which contains “X. Y. Z.’s” second letter, affords here a most apposite illustration. There is a “communicated article” which ends with the following sentence: “If any one” who reads but one novel a year “should cast an eye on these pages, I would strongly recommend him to let that one be a novel of George Eliot’s.” It so happens, accidentally, that I have not read *Adam Bede*; but a priest, a friend of mine, the last man whom any one would suspect of “retrogressive ideas,” and a considerable novel-reader, spoke to me with extreme reprobation of that work; he said that it was one of the most impure books he had ever seen, and that he had thrown it down in disgust. Now, let me suppose that the *Rambler* critic were a superior in some college, and that my priestly friend had been at the same time a student there. The former would actually have recommended a work, which to the latter would have been directly suggestive of evil thoughts.

What, then, are the advantages, for the sake of which “X. Y. Z.” would expose our youths to perils so appalling? The chief is, that such books will be inevitably met with in the priest’s future career, and that he will be better prepared for the trial by having seen them at college. This alleged advantage, however, applies not merely to the books in question, but to the whole body of ‘literature.’ I will treat it, therefore, somewhat later; and I hope to show in due course, that the probability of a priest meeting with such works is not merely not an argument in my opponent’s favour, but affords one of the strongest grounds against him.

The only other reason which I can discover for his suggestion is, that if such books are prohibited, boys will be sure to introduce them surreptitiously, and to read them also when away from college for the vacation. “I cannot doubt,” he says, “that such rules would be, *as in fact they always are*, evaded in numberless cases, and

grudgingly obeyed in the rest." I should like to know his grounds for so strange an assertion. I have already mentioned his recognition of that "zeal and devotion" in the French clergy "of which it would be impossible to speak too highly." Were these admirable men, when young, in the habit of studying on the sly love-scenes from novels? or was their obedience to the rule of exclusion a "grudging" obedience? I should much like to know what means "X. Y. Z." possesses of knowing the facts he thus confidently states. He speaks with vehemence against the "Continental system;" I should like to know how much attention he has given to the facts of that system. He seems to think it impossible, that the moral feeling of a Catholic college can rise to any higher elevation, than that which exists in those wretched Protestant institutions, which he is bent on holding up to our admiration. Evidently he has not the slightest idea what the moral condition of a seminary can become, when carefully-chosen superiors are in habits of constant and affectionate intercourse with those committed to their charge.

I would here briefly add, that there is another ground, altogether subordinate to the former and immeasurably less momentous, why the reading of novels is very undesirable, unless in some very exceptional period. And here I speak inclusively of novels which do *not* exhibit the romance of passion, but which contain the gradual development of some highly-interesting story. The great excitement of their perusal unstrings the nerves, and greatly indisposes to the tranquil and regular performance of every-day duties. I can quote in my favour here a corroboration which is more likely (it would seem) to weigh with "X. Y. Z." than the united judgment of all Catholic authorities throughout the world. At the Protestant public school where I was educated, novels were strictly forbidden; and I believe that this prohibition was pretty stringently enforced.

I now come to the broader question. How far is it desirable, as far as the question of character is concerned, that encouragement should be given to the study of "literature," in that special sense which I have given to the word? "X. Y. Z." wishes, as I understand him, that books of this class should be placed in some library, and that to this library unlimited access should be permitted in recreation-time. I maintain against him, that evils of the greatest magnitude may very probably follow from any such arrangement, and that no good result of any kind to the individual character could ensue. Nor can I better introduce what I would say on this matter, than by the following most powerful passage of F. Newman's. I would only observe, as will be evident on reading it, that he uses the term "literature" in a somewhat wider sense than that special one which I have assigned to it.

"Literature," says the illustrious writer, "stands related to man as science stands to nature; it is his history. Man is composed of body and soul; he thinks and he acts; he has appetites, passions, affections, motives, designs; he has within him the lifelong struggle of duty with inclination; he has an intellect fertile and capacious;

he is formed for society, and society multiplies and diversifies in endless combinations his personal characteristics, moral and intellectual. All this constitutes his life; of all this literature is the expression; so that literature is in some sort to him what autobiography is to the individual: it is his life and remains. Moreover, he is this sentient, intelligent, creative, and operative being, quite independent of any extraordinary aid from Heaven, or any definite religious belief; and *as* such, as he is in himself, does literature represent him; it is the life and remains of the *natural* man, or man in *purâ naturâ*. I do not mean to say that it is impossible in its very notion that literature should be tinctured by a religious spirit; Hebrew literature, as far as it can be called literature, certainly is simply theological, and has a character imprinted on it which is above nature; but I am speaking of what is to be expected without any extraordinary dispensation; and I say that, in matter of fact, as science is the reflection of nature, so is literature also—the one of nature physical, the other of nature moral and social. Circumstances—such as locality, period, language—seem to make little or no difference in the character of literature as such; on the whole, *all literatures are one; they are the voices of the natural man.*

“I wish this were all that had to be said to the disadvantage of literature; but while nature physical remains fixed in its own laws, nature moral and social has a will of its own, is self-governed, and never remains any long while in that state from which it started into action. Man will never continue in a mere state of innocence; he is sure to sin, and his literature will be the expression of his sin; and this whether he be heathen or Christian. Christianity has thrown gleams of light on him and his literature; but, *as it has not converted him, but only certain choice specimens of him*, so it has not changed the characters of his mind or his history; his literature is *either what it was, or worse than what it was*, in proportion as there has been an abuse of knowledge granted and a rejection of truth. On the whole, then, I think it will be ever found, as a matter of course, that literature, as such, no matter of what nation, is the science or history, *partly and at best of the natural man, partly of man fallen.*”

This account of literature is the more remarkable, because the tendency of F. Newman's argument is very different from that of mine, though not inconsistent with it. For it is his very purpose, in the lecture from which this passage has been extracted, to urge the absolute necessity, which in his opinion exists, of our gentry being familiarised with the general study of literature. He is giving, therefore, this most repulsive picture, of that very commodity which he is recommending;—recommending, however, it would seem, rather as the least of two alternative evils than as in itself desirable.* And

* At least the only argument which I can see there for the importance of the study is this: “we cannot *possibly keep them* from plunging into the world, with all its ways, principles, and maxims, when their time comes; but we can *prepare them* against what is *inevitable*,” &c.

that he has not in the least over-stated the evil, will be evident from the following considerations.

‘Literature,’ in that special sense which I have given to the term, expresses, as your readers may remember, those books in which worldly men delineate the world. Such principles, therefore, as the following, are implied as a matter of course in every one of such works.

(1) ‘For a man to make the main end of his life to consist in labouring to promote his own interior perfection and growth in God’s love,—this is the sure mark of a mean and contemptible spirit. Such feeble-minded individuals should resort to monasteries, being fit for nothing better.

(2) ‘Those who are worthy of our honour as high-minded and spirited men, have two main motives ever before their mind; a sensitive regard to their honour, and a keen sense of their personal dignity.’ Or, to express the same thing more truly, ‘are actuated by vain-glory and pride in the most intense degree.

(3) ‘As their springs of action are worldly, so also their spheres of action. Some great temporal end—the exaltation of our country’s temporal greatness or the achievement of her liberty,—here is a pursuit well worthy of man’s high aspirations. He who should regard immorality and worldliness as immeasurably greater evils to his country than political weakness and subjection, is a poltroon; unworthy the name of patriot, or even of man.

(4) ‘Physical courage is a far greater virtue than meekness, humility, or forgivingness.

(5) ‘Intellectual power and resource is in itself worthy of reverence, quite apart from the question whether it be used for God or against Him.

(6) ‘Impurity is no very serious evil, where it is not accompanied by fraud or dishonour; and should in no way be permitted to lessen our respect for one, who has pursued large temporal ends with spirit, adroitness, and sincerity. On the other hand, that narrow monastic spirit, whereby such hard things are said of the failing in question,—this spirit is much more morally detestable than is that which it censures.

(7) ‘Of all modes of life, the most simply absurd is that, wherein a man or body of men separate from the world, that they may the more uninterruptedly contemplate their Creator. This is pure laziness, and well deserves every kind of bitter ridicule or serious attack.’

Such principles as these are in direct opposition to truths, which the Church has testified in every age with the greatest stress and prominence. And it is something like a truism to say, that the more eagerly such books are read, so much the deeper root will these anti-Christian principles take in the mind. There are two obvious reasons why this should especially be the case. First, secular literature is generally clothed in a far more attractive external dress than religious. Secondly, and much more importantly, worldly objects

have by nature immeasurably more influence on the human heart; and it is therefore certain that the eager and sympathetic study of 'literature' will do far worse than merely neutralise the effects of meditation and spiritual reading.

But there is another consideration which should not be omitted. The allowing my son to enter on the indiscriminate reading of 'literature,' is only parallel with the allowing him to enter into indiscriminate society. Now, suppose I had to choose between these two alternative evils. Suppose I were obliged, either to send my son into some society where the doctrines of Christianity are openly and avowedly attacked; or else into one, in which they are not formally mentioned, but in which every thing, said and implied on the various topics of conversation, goes upon a view of things utterly anti-Christian. If we further suppose that in neither of these cases indecency and scurrility of language finds entrance, every one (I think) would rather allow his son to be in the former than in the latter. In the former, the open avowal of disbelief puts him on his guard, and throws him into a combative attitude; he regards, therefore, their words with distrust and dislike. Again, he may report the propositions which he has heard to Christian advisers, and learn the true answer to such propositions. But in the latter, he imbibes he knows not what; maxims find access to his convictions, which, had they been nakedly expressed, would have disgusted and revolted him; he becomes a semi-infidel, before he even suspects the process through which he has been passing.

Now the case of 'literature' is altogether analogous to this latter class of company. The above principles are not categorically and formally stated, like the axioms in Euclid; though, indeed, even in Euclid, it is remarkable how many axioms are assumed which have *not* been stated. But the principles above enumerated, and many others altogether similar, are assumed to be true, quite undeniably and as a matter of course;—so undeniably, that the explicit statement of them would be an impertinence. Thus youths, who might have been put on their guard by openly heathenish propositions, are caught as it were by craft, and imbibe anti-Christian poison without suspecting its real nature. And the natural result of all this would be, that our ecclesiastical students would go forth into the world, with views far more resembling those of literary heathens than of Christian priests.

This, I must take leave to say, is (in my judgment) the most serious evil of "X. Y. Z.'s" letters. If he had taken the pains to go to the bottom of his thoughts, and seize the principles which are implied throughout his argument, I am confident that he would have been the first to recoil in horror and disgust. I suppose he is a great reader of 'literature' himself, as he so strongly recommends it; and if so, he will give the best possible illustration of my argument. He has unconsciously imbibed, to a great extent, the world's detestable maxims; and he argues from them, by a process as unconscious as that by which he received them.

Let us now see how matters would stand *on the whole*, if my opponent's various recommendations were adopted. Every one who has had any concern with religious education knows very well where lies the chief difficulty. The taught are generally most ready to accept and take for granted the doctrines and principles which their teachers inculcate. What they are very slow to do, is to understand the meaning of these doctrines and principles, as translated into the language of every-day life; to see what course of action or thought is implied in these principles, under the various circumstances in which they are placed through the day; to apprehend what is the judgment which those principles logically require them to form, on the various facts which surround them and come before their cognisance. And this being so, no religious teachers are content with laying before the mind certain great truths in chapel or at catechism. They are most anxious that these lessons shall be practically brought home to the youthful mind; in their full concrete force and application, by the various influences of familiar conversation and practical example. Unless this be done, abstract and theoretical religious instruction is hardly more than a mockery and a sham.

Now let me make an impossible supposition. Let me suppose that some Catholic Bishop should be induced to carry out in his seminary the recommendations of "X. Y. Z." The lessons theoretically taught, in chapel or catechism, will remain (I grant) the same as now. But what single steps could be taken towards practically enforcing these lessons, and bringing them home to the conscience as living and authoritative rules of action? The time not spent in chapel, or again in bed, is either study-time or recreation-time; these, therefore, are the two opportunities at a superior's disposal, for practically imbuing the mind with religious principles. Study-time, according to "X. Y. Z.," is mainly to be spent in studying eagerly the classical writers, and endeavouring as far as possible to seize and sympathise with their whole spirit. Well, whatever may be the value of this as an intellectual discipline (which we are not here discussing), one thing at least is certain. Heathen writers, from the very force of terms, were men who were abject and degraded slaves to this visible scene: to sympathise, therefore, with the spirit of their writings, cannot possibly be a road towards practically realising that great invisible world, which the student is desired to make the one centre of his thoughts, the one measure of all earthly things. It is not in study-time, according to my opponent's plan, that any thing can be done, towards the practical and persuasive instilment of spirituality.

Recreation-time, then, alone remains, for this all-important purpose; but here again "X. Y. Z." has succeeded in interposing an absolutely insurmountable barrier between the youth and all religious influences. In recreation-time they are to be left by themselves; lest they should become "sneaks," and in order that they may cultivate the "manly virtues" through unrestrained mutual intercourse. And lest human nature by itself should not be suffi-

ciently prolific in worldly and unchristian principles, the whole field of 'literature' is opened to their view, and they are even encouraged to throw themselves without guidance or restraint on its eager perusal. It is not merely, then, that religious instruction is entirely confined to those formal lessons which are delivered in chapel or at catechism. This would be very bad; but "X. Y. Z.'s" system is far worse. It is not merely that religious instruction is to be unsupported at other times, it is to be most actively thwarted and counteracted. The main course of study, and all the intellectual part of recreation, is to be spent on writers, whose whole course of thought is directly opposed to Gospel morality.

My opponent argues, that, when a priest goes forth into the world, he will not be able to ignore 'literature;' but that, on the contrary, it will be pressed clamorously on his notice, by every different access, and in every variety of shape. I agree with him, that this *is* a momentous fact in our present circumstances: the enormously-increased number who have the means of reading books, and, as a consequence, the enormously-increased extent and influence of 'literature.' It seems to me, I confess, very desirable, that this whole subject should be systematically treated in our colleges; that the students should be expressly instructed how to take a correct view, and make a proper use, of this vast assemblage of worldly books. It would be well, I venture to think, if some popular specimen of such works were made the theme of a course of lectures; the attendants at which course should be taught to see explicitly what are the principles really implied in this or that passage, and how fundamentally opposed are those principles to the very foundations of Christian morality. Such a lecturer would further caution his hearers, against allowing any admiration for genius or wit to conceal from them the real nature of such aberrations. He would enforce on them the great truth, that the possession of high intellectual gifts can only increase the guilt of those, who use them against the Giver. He would remind them, that an immense number of these writers have now passed from this world, and appeared before their Judge. And further, that in all these men there exists at this moment one strong desire; viz. that they might rather have been the dullest and stupidest of rational creatures, than have gone through the degradation of using those talents which God gave them, in giving increased attractiveness and recommendation to that world which is His chief enemy.

But if circumstances render it impossible to give such a methodical criticism of 'literature,' then a wise superior will be anxious to keep from the students, as long as possible, those writings which might have so mischievous an influence. He will be desirous that, before they are exposed to the danger, they shall be fully provided with arms to encounter it; and will all the more labour to train them carefully and profoundly in theological and ascetical principles. To say with my opponent that, *because* the priest will meet such books in the world, *therefore* he should be allowed to

read them at college without careful guidance and warning, this is a statement so extravagant, that he cannot, on consideration, adhere to it. It is as though he said, 'They will hereafter be exposed to the danger of imbibing deadly poison ; and it is therefore most important to provide them with an antidote. But since there is no antidote immediately available, let us do what is second best, viz. put before them the poison at once.'

And this leads me to the last question which may be asked on this matter ; viz. What is the legitimate use which may be made of 'literature,' by the various classes of Christian men ? I can only attempt here to answer this question, in the case of those whom the present controversy concerns ; viz. clerical students at our diocesan seminaries.

For these, so far as their individual character is concerned (not yet considering the farther question of their influence on others), I think that the only advisable use of literature is simple recreation. Innocent recreation is really an end of far more prominent importance, than might at first sight be supposed ; and perhaps we English require more hearty and thorough relaxation of mind than do foreigners. In this respect the active out-door games, so emphatically promoted in our colleges, are of invaluable service. Music, again, and other similar accomplishments, are greatly conducive to the same purpose. Many colleges possess chemical apparatus, or similar appliances, which, in addition to their graver uses, may be made very serviceable in this respect. All those kinds of secular books, again, which I enumerated in the first class, may be (and ordinarily are) drawn on most unreservedly for amusement. But in addition to all this, that class of books which we have been chiefly discussing has an important place of its own. Recreation is more hearty and refreshing, in proportion as the current of ideas is more violently changed, and thrown on a different class of objects from those which occupy severer hours. Many selections might be made from 'literature,' if great care is exercised, in which anti-Christian principles are not exhibited in any dangerously influential shape, while, at the same time, there is much of touching pathos ; or, again, where grotesque and humorous scenes of various kinds occur. Even where the entire book could not safely be left in the library, most interesting and amusing selections might be publicly read ; and if set off with first-rate reading, would be found a most recreative amusement. Even in the lightest moments, however, it is always well from time to time to turn ridicule into its legitimate channel ; and to exhibit in various shapes the grotesque absurdity implied in the fact, that men, who sincerely believe in God and a future state, can gravely devote themselves to this world, as the main end and interest of their lives.

It now remains, under this head, to consider what advantages "X. Y. Z." himself proposes, by throwing open 'literature' in its whole extent. By far the chief stress, however, as I have already observed, is laid by him on its value as conducive to the priest's

future influence over the laity; and that question I am to consider in a later part of this letter. The only statement which I can find, bearing on its benefit to the personal character, is contained in the following passage from his first letter. He is saying that he fully admits "the immense importance of purity; but," he adds, "I should like to ascertain whether the same result could not be obtained by other means; and whether the end is really secured which alone could compensate for *the almost inevitable consequences of depressed imagination and stunted intellectual development*. . . . It is surely the general rule, that precisely those whose intellect is least exercised, and whose imagination is most sluggish, are *the readiest and most helpless slaves of the merely animal passions*. Nor should it be forgotten that the more rigidly you narrow the limits of general information and thought, the more will the mental faculties be dwarfed, and the more exclusively will attention be concentrated, with a morbid and microscopic pertinacity, on petty criticisms of personal and domestic details."

I found this passage at first quite bewildering. But on a second perusal I could not help seeing that it contains the following proposition; a proposition which at first I had not thought it possible that any man in his senses could have intended. He is speaking of the restrictions on reading "usually imposed in Catholic colleges." Now, no one will maintain that any books are excluded which belong to the first of the three classes that I originally specified; the exclusion which my opponent laments is the exclusion of those which contain a delineation of the world by worldly men. "X. Y. Z.," beyond question, then, asserts, that unless we study such works, "our attention will be morbidly concentrated on petty personal criticisms;" and we shall moreover probably be the "ready and helpless slaves of the merely animal passions." If we ask him why this result must ensue, he answers thus: because our "imagination" will be "depressed," our "intellectual development" "stunted," our "mental faculties" "dwarfed." These truly amazing allegations I am now to consider.

And first, as to those secular books which no one ever dreamt of excluding. Surely there is incredible recklessness in the statement, that the whole field of mathematical and physical science affords no genuine cultivation to the "intellect," and that there is no appeal to the "imagination" in all that touching and charming poetry which treats of natural beauty. Is he not indeed rather behind the age in this statement? Is not Wordsworth's poetry, *e. g.*, mainly such? and is it not a growing opinion that he is among the greatest of poets? I speak here entirely at secondhand; but I have understood from many good judges, that an affirmative answer should be given to both these questions.

But how truly wonderful to hear it stated, that a priest's professional studies, even were he confined to these, afford no scope to "intellect" and "imagination"! Nay, "X. Y. Z." seems to think of God and the whole invisible world as non-existent. If you debar

the students from *general information*, he says, they will have *nothing to think about* except "petty criticisms of personal and domestic details." All the marvels of natural and revealed religion, the sacred words of God Incarnate, the inspired utterances of that St. Paul whom elsewhere "X. Y. Z." seems duly to revere, the divine poetry of the Psalms, the attractive union of piety, rhetoric, and logic presented, *e. g.*, by St. Augustine's writings,—all this and indefinitely more is regarded by my opponent as simply nothing at all. If we have nothing better than this to think about, such is his statement, we shall be driven, from pure want of matter for thought, to concentrate our attention with morbid and microscopic pertinacity on "petty domestic details;" or, still worse, we shall be helpless "slaves to the lowest animal passions." It is to "Shakespeare and Scott" we are to look as our preservers from impure imaginations; for such imaginations must inevitably befall us, if we confine our studies to the divine and spiritual order.

As to the question of *intellectual* power, this is more suitably to be considered in the last part of this letter; for it has much more to do with a priest's *influence* than with his interior character. Here, therefore, I will but briefly say, that such an exercitation of the mind as the theory of our seminaries supposes, if efficiently carried out, is excellently adapted for promoting intellectual strength. An intellect trained, first by mathematics and the study of language; then by logic, metaphysics, and psychology; lastly, by a theology built on these;—will assuredly hold its own against any rival with which it can ordinarily be brought into contact.

But the due culture of the *imagination* is really most important, even in its bearing on the individual. It is often only by means of the imagination, that the great truths of religion obtain access to the heart; and the imagination will always be of inestimable service, in obtaining for them a far readier access, and far deeper apprehension. Both my opponent and myself, therefore, are very desirous that the imagination shall be duly fostered and developed. He considers, however, that it will always be "sluggish" unless the field of "literature" be extended before its gaze. For myself, on the contrary, I maintain this: if we wish the imagination to seize on those great truths which are its highest and its intended food, the one hopeful way is, that those truths shall be assiduously placed before the mind in their most attractive and soul-subduing shape. Let me say it again. Here is the question to be discussed: By what culture will our students most probably be led to grasp religious truth with their imagination? My opponent says, by reading "Shakespeare and Scott;" I say, by studying, *e. g.*, the lives and revelations of the more mystical and contemplative saints. He says, by first feeding their imagination on those objects which please the natural man—national greatness and worldly renown; I say, by feeding it from the first on its highest and most appropriate food—on those thrilling marvels which the Gospel has revealed.

Now, I ask, (1) which of these two alternatives is favoured by

common sense? Shall we best train a given faculty to act in a given direction, by exercising it in that, or in a totally different direction? I ask, (2) which of these two alternatives is recommended by Scripture and Theology? Is it by "living" to this visible world, or by "dying" to it, that we shall most live to the invisible? Is it by looking on earthly objects or heavenly that we are taught to aim at the grasp of religious truth? I ask, (3) which of these two alternatives is supported by fact? Who are those favoured individuals whose imagination has ever been most saturated with heavenly marvels? Are they the classical students, and the keen appreciators of "Shakespeare and Scott"? Or have they not rather been a very different class? I mean those mystical and contemplative saints, of whom I just now spoke, and who ordinarily, from their infancy upwards, have loved to exclude all thoughts, except those most directly connected with Him whom they so tenderly loved.

In concluding this first part of my letter, I wish I could understand how far "X. Y. Z." wishes his proposals to be universally adopted. His words, taken as they stand, land us in a most extraordinary conclusion.

Firstly, if we take the import of his statements, he wishes that the decided majority of priests should come from the class of gentry. For he tells us, that his suggestions "have reference mainly to students of a higher class; it was for them," he adds, "I expressed my belief, that a very different system from St. Sulpice would be found profitable." But then he presently adds another statement. "I would very strongly deprecate" the continental system "being made *the general rule.*" He has not denied, then, that the continental system might be more suitable for students below the rank of gentry; yet he deprecates its being the general rule. The only inference which we can draw from these combined propositions is, that if he had his desire, the decided majority of priests should be taken from the class of gentry. Something of a novelty this!

But it is to a further proposition that I would draw particular attention. He says in his first letter, "I am far from saying that there would not be room for a St. Sulpice in England." And in his second letter he repeats this opinion: "I am far from denying that there is room even now in England for such a college as 'F.' desires; still less, that there would be, if our numbers were considerably augmented." Yet his argument, throughout the two letters, has been, that this continental system "dwarfs the mental faculties," "tends to deaden the sense of responsibility," makes persons "ready and helpless slaves of the merely animal passions," "is absolutely and fatally injurious to the character." According to "X. Y. Z.," then, if God *did* think fit to favour with an ecclesiastical vocation those below the class of gentry, it would be suitable enough for such as *them* to be placed under a system of education, which shall dwarf their mental faculties, deaden their sense of responsibility, render

them helpless slaves of the merely animal passions, and be absolutely and fatally injurious to their character. All this is surely more like insane raving than mere ordinary recklessness.

It may be said, perhaps, that he did not *mean* to draw this marked distinction between the upper and lower classes; and that, although it be deducible from his words, yet this fact is entirely owing to his habitual inaccuracy of thought. This is probably true. Yet, at least, he *does* say, in so many words, that "there is room even now in England," and that there will probably be still more, for an educational system, which he has, nevertheless, described as so frightfully disastrous on all who may be brought under its control.

Here, then, at length I bring to a close the first part of my letter; and the second will be far more briefly despatched, for the following reason. My opponent, as I have said, puts forth three principal suggestions: (1) that our clerical students shall be much less under surveillance than they are now; (2) that they shall have much greater scope for human affections; (3) that they shall have much readier access to 'literature.' He considers that if these suggestions were adopted, our priests' personal character, and also their general influence, would be greatly improved. But in regard to the first two of his three suggestions, he would admit that the *latter* result could only be obtained by means of the *former*. If I have succeeded, therefore, in establishing, that his first two suggestions would be grievously detrimental to a student's *character*, "X. Y. Z." will at once admit that they would be equally detrimental to the priest's future *influence*. But in regard to the third proposal, the case is different. My opponent will, no doubt, hold, that a study of 'literature' would be eminently desirable, even though it did *not* benefit the individual character, by importantly extending sacerdotal influence. This, then, is the last proposition which I am to combat.

I have no doubt that "X. Y. Z.'s" meaning on this head may be fairly expressed as follows: 'It is in the highest degree desirable that the education of our gentry should be greatly changed, and brought into far greater conformity with the Protestant system. If this be so, it will be necessary that our clerical education should also be changed, in order that the priests may have due influence over the gentry. Again, such a change will confer another great service, in enabling priests to cope with Protestants, and influence the general current of English thought.'

This statement takes for granted, that it *would* be beneficial if our gentry were educated more on the Protestant model. Now, however deep is my reverence for this or that individual who may seem to advocate this proposition, I, for one, have never been able to accept it. Still this is far too wide and serious a matter to be discussed episodically; and I will therefore, for argument's sake, concede what "X. Y. Z." wishes on this head. With the other part of his assumption I thoroughly coincide. I heartily agree with him, wher-

ever he argues on the great desirableness that Catholic views and principles should be brought far more efficiently into contact with the general current of thought than is now the case. In order, therefore, to simplify the question, I will make to my opponent every preliminary concession he can possibly require. I will suppose that the Catholic gentry are at this moment educated on a system essentially similar to that of the English universities; and that we are considering how the clergy may be most suitably trained in consequence.

Again, to make quite clear my point of divergence from "X. Y. Z.," I will add this further expression of opinion. I think it is very desirable, for various reasons, that a certain select number of priests should be duly prepared, to cope with the great questions of the day; to help in fixing our controversial position; and to influence the most highly educated, whether of Catholics or Protestants. Such priests must, of course, have gone through the best attainable discipline of their mental faculties; they must be complete and accomplished theologians in the fullest sense of that word; and they must, in addition, be very sufficiently conversant with history and literature, both ancient and modern. This statement alone suffices to show the absurdity of imagining that our seminaries can prepare such a priest; since it is plain that his education must extend to a period very far later, than that when students in general receive ordination.

It is not, indeed, surprising, that facts of the present day should have led various thinkers in different parts of Christendom to consider anxiously the question, how Catholicism may exercise greater influence on the intellectual arena. But I think that, of all the plans which can imaginably be proposed, "X. Y. Z.'s" is very far the worst. By a curious infelicity, as it appears to me, he has hit upon a scheme, which unites the disadvantages of all with the advantages of none. This allegation I now proceed to support.

I hope presently to show, that priests educated according to my opponent's scheme would have less (not more) influence with educated laymen, than any other priests whatever. But I will first, for argument's sake, suppose the contrary. Still, this fact would be very far from sufficing for his conclusion: because it is far more important that they should influence the poor than the rich; and "X. Y. Z.'s" scheme would, at all events, greatly unfit and indispose them for work among the poor. Let me state my meaning more fully.

It is far more important that the great body of priests should be fitted to deal with the poor than with the rich. For, firstly, a poor man's soul has the same value as a rich man's, and the poor are immensely more numerous. It may be said, indeed, that the social weight of the upper classes being so considerable, a much greater service is rendered by christianising a given number of them, than by christianising the same number of the poor. But, after allowing the fullest possible weight to this objection, it will

not materially affect our conclusion ; the disproportion being so enormous between the numbers of the two classes. Then consider farther the following fact : the educated, from the very fact of being educated, by no means depend for their religious knowledge on the priest who happens to be nearest. They are accessible, *e.g.*, by means of books ; and a very small number of specially-prepared priests would amply suffice to do all that is necessary, for protecting them against speculative difficulties, and drawing them towards God. On the other hand, the poor are absolutely dependent on the priest under whom they are placed, as to the efficacy with which the great Objects of faith are impressed on their mind, and with which religious truth is brought home to their conscience.

To act, then, on the hearts and consciences of the poor, must ever remain the principal work of an ordinary priest. Now let it be considered how greatly the carrying of "X. Y. Z.'s" recommendations would incapacitate or disincline him for such work. It would do so in two different ways.

First, his life is to be one of constant persevering intercourse with those who are poorest and most unrefined ; exhausting, thankless, unrequited toil is to be his normal occupation. He who is to be supported through such a life as this, should be emphatically what is called a "man of one idea." His whole mind should be pervaded by this one thought—the utter worthlessness of all else in comparison with the soul, the paramount importance of religious truth. There is no one mental peculiarity which would more indispose any of us to such a career as this, than what are called "literary habits ;" the habit of leading a quiet sedentary life, and feeding the taste and imagination on secular writings. A certain, not inconsiderable, amount of intellectual and theological education is no doubt required, in order to the due discharge of his indispensable duties. For he must possess a full and familiar grasp of Christian doctrine ; he must have the power of imparting that doctrine under every variety of circumstance, and in every variety of shape ; he must be competent to cope with the various difficult cases which may occur in the confessional ; and possess various other intellectual qualifications not necessary to enumerate. Yet even in these indispensable theological studies, good superiors are always very anxious lest he imbibe any distaste for active and practical work ; and are careful in providing remedies, which may guard against so serious a danger. But so far as he has learned to be studious *without* being theological, so far as he has learned to make an occupation of secular literature, the evil in our present point of view is unmingled.

A second way in which literary habits must lessen a priest's hold on the poor, is in lessening his sympathy with them, and his keen appreciation of their circumstances and character. If his interests be wholly in his professional studies, in proportion as his flock become more pious and spiritual, he is the more closely joined to them in heart and affection. But literary tastes go to constitute a permanent barrier between him and them.

I cannot better express what I am here urging, than in the words of one whose name (if I might mention it) would carry the greatest weight on such a matter. "The uneducated among the laity," he says, "being the many, and the refined, large-minded, and accomplished being the few, the notion is preposterous that the *clerus universus* should be trained on the model of the few, and not so as best to meet the capacities and characteristics of the many."

It is truly wonderful how little my opponent, in his ordinary tone and expression, recognises the very existence of such a class as the uneducated. He says, *e. g.*, that if clerics do not study "Shakespeare and Scott," "one distinct note of inferiority is thus at once established for them as compared with their *fellow-men*." He words his sentence, as though laymen, who care nothing about Shakespeare and Scott, are not a priest's "fellow-men" at all. Again, he makes an appeal after this fashion: "I would most earnestly put it to those who advocate an opposite view, whether they are prepared to acquiesce in a decidedly lower average of education and intelligence among the clergy than *among the laity* as a normal condition of things; whether they consider it desirable, or even safe, that *men* should be unable to look with intellectual respect on them." He does not seem to class the uneducated as "men," or to regard them as any part of the "laity" at all.* And he maintains, without explanation or qualification, that "the style and matter of literature" touches most "closely on the duties of the confessional." How incredibly absurd! Take any priest, the most highly and universally educated you can, who has gone through the exhausting and anxious work of the confessional for one single evening among a poor population, and ask him how great a benefit has accrued to him in his task from his study of Shakespeare and Scott. He will answer with me, "How incredibly absurd!"

"X. Y. Z." chiefly bases his recommendation of 'literary' pursuits, on the accession of influence which a priest would obtain by means of them. Here, then, is my first answer: even if he gained the rich, he would lose the poor. In my second argument I shall still proceed on the hypothesis (I am convinced a very false one), that a priest, educated according to my opponent's prescription, *would* have some special weight with the educated class. But, I ask, *why* is it so important that our educated laymen should *be* influenced? Because we are so specially in *need* of religious truth. We are continually tempted, *e. g.*, to think, that so only we try to avoid mortal sin, we may quite innocently make this world our main end and our main enjoyment; and when those salutary lessons which we so much require are pressed on our attention, we are only too happy to salve our conscience with the thought, that our reprover knows nothing of the matter, having no "breadth and largeness of intelligence." It is of very great value, therefore, that these whole-

* I am not unmindful of the fact that he speaks, shortly afterwards, of "the educated and half-educated classes." His *meaning* is, of course, clear enough in the passage which I quote; I am criticising its *tone* and *expression*.

some admonitions should be given us by men, whom it is impossible to accuse of being "narrow" and "monkish;" and who are evidently quite as well qualified as ourselves, both by nature and attainment, for the pursuit of this world's various goods.

But, then, if our priest, in the course of his literary training, have lost one particle of his interior spirit; if he have learned to gaze with less steadiness and simplicity of vision on God and the things of God; if he have forgotten in any degree the habit of weighing all earthly things in the heavenly balance;—not only he confers no benefit on God's cause, but he does it the greatest disservice. He confers no benefit; for such lessons as he will wish to inculcate are not higher than those views which we laymen already hold. He inflicts great injury; because we are confirmed in our low and degrading ways, by meeting with an authorised priest who feels against them no great objection.

And so on a larger scale. Great service is done to the Catholic cause, so far as persons, deeply imbued with Catholic principles, are able to cope with the world on its own ground; to meet the sophistries, to treat fairly the honest difficulties, which are put forward by educated men. But what service is done by the mere fact of Catholics possessing great worldly influence, unless they *use* that influence for pure Catholic truth? If they themselves have no hearty love, nay, and no full apprehension, of that truth, they can do nothing *for* God, and will probably do much *against* Him.

Now I have already argued that "X. Y. Z.'s" system would eminently tend to produce this very effect; to dull and enfeeble, and that in no ordinary degree, the spiritual vision of those unhappy victims who should be its recipients. Even, then, were I to grant that priests of this kind would possess great influence over highly educated men, whether Catholics or Protestants, such influence would be for evil and not for good. Those very persons, who will have been trained for the spiritual benefit of us educated laymen, will rather be our spiritual ruin.

I now, thirdly, maintain, that there is no imaginable mode of education which would more utterly incapacitate a priest from influencing the really educated, than that which my opponent has devised. He considers that the intellect at least would be greatly benefited by his method. On this question, then, I will first join issue. And I will advocate the extremely opposite proposition, viz.: that my opponent's method would generate nothing but intellectual imbecility. On this matter, at least, my opponent and I have common ground from which to start. He every where implies an adherence to those principles which F. Newman has stated, as to the true mode of intellectual culture. For myself also I most strongly hold the truth of those principles; and I will bring them therefore to bear on the question before us.

The earliest end aimed at in intellectual training, is compelling the various faculties actively to exert themselves, and counteracting the habit of a "mere passive reception of images and thoughts." Now,

for the purpose of securing this exertion and invigoration of the intellect, the study of language and the study of mathematics have quite a peculiar value. In these studies "the learner is compelled to be an actor, not a mere spectator, in the intellectual scene."* It is impossible that he can content himself with a barren and passive remembrance of facts, because he is compelled to acquire and exhibit new *powers of mind*. A student who has learned to solve an equation which he never before saw, or to translate accurately at first sight an involved Greek or German passage, must necessarily have given his mind active employment.

Now, how would this early discipline be affected, by the free and unchecked study of general literature? Of course most unfavourably. The mental energies, instead of being braced and strengthened, would be dissipated and enervated by a passive reception of miscellaneous facts. That state of mind would be engendered, against which F. Newman is never weary of inveighing, such as may be studied in the case of the inimitable Mr. White.† This interesting youth has read all the reviews and magazines, and Russell's *Modern Europe*, and Burke's *Oration*s, and the *Anti-Jacobin* (I am quoting from memory); and what has resulted? He has acquired no mental power whatever; no, nor the real knowledge of any one fact.

Passing from this earlier discipline, the next matter which engages F. Newman's interest would be, that our students shall obtain "a conception of development from and around a common centre." "There is no enlargement of mind," he says, "unless there be a comparison of ideas one with another, as they come before the mind, and a systematising of them. We feel our minds to be growing and expanding *then*, when we not only learn, but refer what we learn to what we know already. It is not a mere addition to our knowledge which is illumination, but the locomotion, the movement onwards, of that moral centre to which both what we know and what we are learning, the accumulating mass of our acquirements, gravitate. And therefore a truly great intellect is one which takes a connected view of old and new, past and present, far and near, and which has an insight into the influence of all these one on another; without which there is no whole and no centre. It possesses the knowledge, not only of things, but also of their mutual and true relations; knowledge, not merely considered as acquirement, but as philosophy."

Now I have already urged, how important, on ascetical grounds, is the habit of viewing all the various facts and theories which come under our cognisance by the Gospel standard. It follows, from F. Newman's principles, that this habit eminently promotes also true enlargement of mind; and so indeed he himself observes. "It is often remarked of uneducated persons, who have hitherto thought little of the unseen world, that, on their turning to God, looking into themselves, regulating their hearts, reforming their conduct,

* Whewell.

† Newman's *Essay on University Subjects*.

and meditating on death and judgment, heaven and hell, they seem to become, in point of intellect, different beings from what they were. Before, they took things as they came, and thought no more of one thing than another. But now every event has a meaning; they have their own estimate of whatever happens to them; they are mindful of times and seasons, and compare the present with the past; and the world, no longer dull, monotonous, unprofitable, and hopeless, is a various and complicated drama, with parts and an object and an awful moral."

On the other hand, undoubtedly those who bring together an immense number of facts, and view them in their mutual relations upon worldly principles, these obtain great enlargement of mind. As the former is Christian, so the latter is anti-Christian, enlargement. And the latter, I maintain, is the case with the Protestant universities. He who there thoroughly gives himself to the studies of the place, obtains a first-rate mental discipline, at the expense of an awful moral disadvantage; for the truths of Christianity have no practical hold on him whatever. Nay, and no speculative hold; for they produce no impression whatever on his habitual view of men and things. I find a valuable corroboration of this statement from a writer in your last number, to whom I have already referred. "The Protestant," he says, "practically ignores the personality of God, as . . . the real and living object of adoration, obedience, and love." Such is the result in which the Protestant educational system issues; and it is for this reason that I cannot help regarding the Protestant Universities as most unsuitable models for Catholic lay education. All will admit it to be far better that our gentry should continue to be educated as they are, than that they should obtain higher intellectual discipline at so tremendous a sacrifice. For myself, I have never been able to see, how, on the Protestant university system, this sacrifice can possibly be avoided.

Passing, however, from this short digression, I proceed with my remarks. Here, then, are two different, but equally efficacious, modes of mental enlargement. That great body of human facts which 'literature' contemplates—the course of the world, the various habits, aims, dispositions, of worldly men—may be made most powerfully conducive to intellectual cultivation, if we learn to contemplate them in their mutual relations from the worldly standpoint. But, on the other hand, they may be studied so as to produce, not mental enlargement, but mental imbecility; and "X. Y. Z.'s" proposal is admirably adapted to that end.

"X. Y. Z." would not, of course, wish that religious truths shall have no hold at all on the mind of an ecclesiastical student; that they shall lie like a *caput mortuum* at the bottom of his mind, like some foreign substance, in no way influencing the current of his thoughts or the tone of his feelings.* On the contrary, he desires that they shall be really and efficaciously inculcated. He is com-

* J. S. Mill.

mendably desirous, indeed, that we may escape that most serious evil, of theology "losing its point of contact with human thought and life, and crystallising into a kind of frost-work of technical terminology." Yet, on the other hand, he is at least equally desirous that there shall be a keen and eager study of that 'literature,' which implies at every step principles diametrically opposed to those of theology. Here, then, is his newly-devised theory of mental discipline, which is to put our old 'narrowness' to the blush. His pattern-student is explicitly and formally to be taught one set of principles; implicitly and unconsciously to imbibe principles diametrically opposite; and no hint is to be given him of this violent opposition. What an unmeaning and confused jumble of notions will occupy the poor youth's brain, prevented by his teacher from mastering the real significance and extent of any one idea, however prominent and important! Here is the choicest possible method for "dwarfing the faculties" and "stunting intellectual development." The poor youth, who might be sacrificed to the experiment, would grow up as narrow, stupid, and self-sufficient, as he would be worldly and unmortified.

Supposing, therefore, that our gentry have received a thoroughly effective and large intellectual culture, there is no priest who would have so little influence with them as one of this sort; for there would be none so dull, so pretentious, so intrusive. Now let the following facts be further considered, which bear in the same direction.

"X. Y. Z." speaks of the clergy "mixing freely with" the higher classes of laity "during the period of education." Here again is one of those wonderful inaccuracies which abound in his two letters. If our gentry are to receive the education which my opponent desires, they cannot possibly bring it to a close till about the age of twenty-two. On the other hand, our priests are ordinarily ordained at the age of twenty-three; and five years are devoted to the exclusive study of professional subjects.* No one, indeed, who has given his mind to the question, will think five years one day too long; but observe what follows. The future priest must close at the age of eighteen that part of his studies, which "X. Y. Z." imagines him to share with laymen. So far, then, from his being on an equality with these laymen in his literary attainments, he will be vastly their inferior. My opponent seems to have some practical knowledge of a Protestant education. I will ask him, therefore, what is the kind of comparison between a youth, on the one hand, who has thoroughly devoted himself to university studies; and a youth, on the other hand, who has not gone to the university at all, but enters into life on quitting a public school at eighteen years old. If they are brought into contact, the former feels the latter to be like a barbarian, so vast is his intellectual inferiority. Such, then, after all, is the relation which "X. Y. Z." would establish between our priests and gentry.

* I refer, of course, to the study of "philosophy" and "theology."

On the other hand, laymen who are thoroughly well educated in *their* way, would greatly value and admire a priest thoroughly well educated in *his*. True, he would be vastly their inferior in the knowledge of "Shakespeare and Scott;" but they would to no less an extent be his inferiors in the somewhat more important knowledge, of God and those other beings, who are to be our companions for Eternity. And, depend on it, even very worldly-minded laymen never experience so much respect for a priest, as when they feel that he is not ashamed of his profession; when they see that he is quite absorbed in its appropriate thoughts, and practically aware of their unparalleled magnitude and importance. Add to this, that (as has often been remarked) no interior man can be really vulgar. The half-educated mongrel *littérateur*, whom "X. Y. Z.'s" plan would produce, such a person indeed would be offensive to the refined tastes of a gentleman. But wherever there is humility, unselfishness, constant consideration for others, all true gentlemen are attracted by the exhibition.

I have now considered "X. Y. Z.'s" chief recommendations by the two tests which I originally proposed. I have written far more hastily than I could wish, on a subject of vast extent and most painful importance; but I was very desirous of being in time for your January Number. The views, indeed, here expressed, have all been for many years familiar to my mind; but if I could have had more time, I might have developed them far more clearly, and brought many additional arguments to their support.

At the same time, I have only aimed at treating *part* of the question. "X. Y. Z." has attacked the fundamental principles on which the whole Catholic system of ecclesiastical training is founded. Even apart from the question of authority, my own personal convictions are most unhesitating, and most deeply-seated, in favour of these principles; and I have wished therefore, according to my power and opportunity, to illustrate and defend them. There is, of course, another totally different question, that of *fact*; how far this or that seminary, whether St. Sulpice or any other, is effectively conducted *upon* those recognised principles. But as "X. Y. Z." has not touched upon this question, I should have no excuse for doing so, even if I had the inclination; for I feel most deeply that these are no subjects for public discussion. And I have certainly not the inclination, for I am not sufficiently acquainted with individual facts to form any definite judgment on the matter.

And now, in taking leave of my opponent, I cannot help once more protesting most earnestly against the course which he has adopted for giving currency to his opinions. I feel strongly that on many questions—for instance, on various particulars which concern lay education—great benefit may be conferred on us English Catholics by free public discussion. It is, for that very reason the more unfortunate, that "X. Y. Z." has adopted a course, which must

bring into discredit the whole system of public discussion altogether. For let us see the state of the case.

He maintains that nothing can be more deplorable than those principles of clerical education, which he considers to be prevalent throughout Catholic Christendom; which he regards as having their natural home, indeed, on the Continent, but as prevailing to a great extent in our English colleges also. It is his conviction that these principles lead to the worst results, both moral and intellectual, and imperatively require a revolutionary reform. In other words, he is persuaded that the whole body of Catholic bishops, both here and abroad, are training their priests by a method, which is debasing to their moral character, and destructive of their most important influence. Before what grave ecclesiastical tribunal does he prefer this appalling accusation? Before the miscellaneous readers of a lay periodical. Every one who can afford to buy a copy of the *Rambler*, or can borrow one from a friend, is called on to exercise his intellect, freely and without favour or affection, on such questions as these: (1) What is precisely that ecclesiastical spirit which a seminary should form? (2) What is the best mode of securing that spirit? (3) What are in fact the regulations of our English colleges? (4) How far is it true that all Catholic bishops unite in supporting a system which may "occasionally" indeed "make a saint by accident" (for what Catholic educational system *can* be so deplorable, as that "*occasionally*," and "*by accident*," a saint may not emerge from it?), but whose direct *tendency* (for which alone, of course, its maintainers are responsible), is to "make sneaks by the score"?

If the body of laymen, may permissibly be invited to exercise their free private judgment on such issues as these, nay, and to express the conclusion at which they arrive, we may expect, on opening any number of your Periodical, to find a letter, signed perhaps "U. V. W.," in which the question of clerical celibacy is proposed for "ventilation." Your new correspondent, following in "X. Y. Z.'s" footsteps, will not be "writing an essay on the subject," but "simply suggesting hints for the consideration of those better qualified to judge." He will "*briefly jot down* a few questions *which have occurred to his mind*," and will "seek rather to ventilate the question than to lay down the law." After this modest preamble, allegations will follow, expressed with the greatest confidence and vehemence of language, that the whole practice of clerical celibacy produces the most frightful evils. And he will conclude by saying, that if we wish "to win back this great-hearted Anglo-Saxon people, with its strong will" and the rest of it, we must really give up that institution against which they are so invincibly prejudiced. A married clergy, perhaps he may add, can alone succeed in influencing a people so given to marriage. I really think there is quite as much meaning in this sentence, as in many of my opponent's plausibly-sounding utterances; nor can I see that in any one particular the imaginary "U. V. W." will go one step beyond the precedent set him by "X. Y. Z."

We are inevitably, then, led to inquire, What are the intellectual qualifications exhibited by your correspondent for this supreme ecclesiastical censorship to which he has elected himself? And we shall find them, I think, just what we might have anticipated from the course which he has pursued. There is one which I can unreservedly praise—his style. I have felt, indeed, sensibly throughout, at what great disadvantage I have had to contend, with my bald and awkward diction, against a writer possessing so ready a command of masculine and vigorous language. Yet this very command of language has perhaps its disadvantages; certainly it seems in the present case to have blinded my opponent to the extraordinary poverty of thought beneath. To myself, even the monstrous audacity of his accusation is less amazing, than the recklessness and inconsistency of those statements, the paltriness and imbecility of those arguments, by which he has attempted to sustain it.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,
W. G. W.

Current Events.

HOME AFFAIRS.

Repeal Agitation.

THE domestic first-fruit of our policy on the Italian question has appeared in the form of a meeting, which was held at Dublin on the 4th of December, to inaugurate an agitation for the repeal of the Union. The O'Donoghue presided, and was supported by Mr. Maguire, who proposed the following resolution: "That British ministers and other influential persons in England having recognised and supported the principle that persons who are discontented with their governments may rightfully change or abolish those governments, by violent means if they cannot do so peaceably, and in place of them set up rulers and governments of their own choice, we are now assembled, peaceably, to inform our rulers that they and the existing form of government for Ireland are not of our choosing, and do not possess our confidence; and that we earnestly desire the restoration of that native legislature of which our country was fraudulently deprived." The resolution, of course, was enthusiastically adopted. And then, proceeding from theory to practice, Mr. Underwood, a Presbyterian minister, improved the occasion by introducing a petition to the two Houses of Parliament, setting forth the desire of the meeting, "that, in accordance with those views on popular rights which have been frequently expressed by her Majesty's Government, her Majesty may be pleased to direct that the Irish people shall be allowed to choose their own rulers and form of government, such choice to be declared by ballot and universal suffrage."

As a diversion in Mr. Disraeli's interest, the movement perhaps was not without adroitness; nor is there any reason why it should offend the taste of those who accept his canons of political morality. For the *argumentum ad hominem* against ministers is complete; and the temptation to

use it could hardly be suppressed without the acknowledgment of a settled standard of right and wrong. But once admit such a standard, and a thing ceases to be lawful or unlawful merely because Lord John Russell says it is so. Conduct becomes the expression of principle; and a principle does not vary with the varying circumstances to which it applies. The particular method suggested by Mr. Underwood for effecting the repeal of the Union—"first, by force, and secondly," as a *pis aller*, "by reason"—may perhaps be as idiosyncratic as it is startling; but the O'Donoghue and Mr. Maguire have, at all events, fully committed themselves to "those views of popular rights" of which the ministerial policy with regard to Italy has been the natural and necessary result. Other people have, for the most part, been content to confine their approval to words; but Lord John Russell will be entitled to point to the promoters of this demonstration as men who have given his theory that unreserved and crowning sanction which is implied in their spontaneously adopting it as the basis of their own public action. They may have the satisfaction of knowing that, if it should ever be necessary for him to meet a national demand for repeal, he will have to accommodate his principles to his position: he, meanwhile, secures the advantage of removing the Italian question, as far as their opposition is concerned, from the ground of principle altogether.

For either there is such a thing as the *duty* of subjects to their rulers, or there is not. If there is, then the position in which these gentlemen contemplate the possibility of placing the Irish people is morally wrong. If there is not, then moral wrong is excluded also from the position in which the ministerial policy has supported the various Italian peoples, and the opposition to that policy is narrowed to grounds of mere expe-

diency or feeling. The new repealers may take their choice. Their satire is pungent, but it cuts both ways. They cannot be the instigators of rebellion in Ireland, and, at the same time, the champions of settled government in Italy.

The Maori War.

Our present dispute with the natives of New Zealand dates from March 1859, and springs out of the anxiety of the settlers at Taranaki to acquire some land which lies to the south of the Waitara river. They complain that, for want of this land, "they have not sufficient pasturage for their flocks, and that immigrants and capitalists are driven to seek in other provinces the accommodation which Taranaki cannot, under present circumstances, afford;" and the governor, in his first published despatch on the subject, addressed to Sir E. B. Lytton, speaks of the land in question as "essentially necessary for the consolidation of the province, as well as for the use of the settlers." The Maoris, however, to whom it belongs, refuse, as a rule, to sell any part of it. They do so both on social and political grounds—both because they have a warm attachment to the inheritance of their ancestors, and also because they feel that the absorption of their territory by European settlers is at once an instrument and symbol of the gradual extinction of their race. This latter feeling, though very widely diffused, is naturally strongest among the chiefs; and the Maori law, recognised and guaranteed by the treaty of Waitangi, enables the chief to interpose an effective veto on the alienation of territory belonging to the members of his tribe.

For the native ownership of land appears to be in a sort of transition state between communism and individual property. The individual has his rights against the other members of his tribe; and the tribe, both in its members and as represented by its chief, has also its rights against him. But the precise limit on either side is, as might be expected, not very clearly defined; and there are qualifying circumstances—such as conquest and temporary posses-

sion by another tribe, the absence of the chief for a longer or shorter period, and various others—which may so complicate the relations of the different parties concerned, as to render it next to impossible in any given case, to distinguish justice amidst their conflicting claims.

It was probably, therefore, a very wise discretion which the governor proposed to exercise when he declared at the outset, to a meeting of natives held at Taranaki, that, whatever pressure might be put on him by the settlers, he "would never consent to buy land without an undisputed title." Had he adhered to this declaration, the war would certainly have been avoided; but he seems to have scarcely announced his policy before he deliberately abandoned it. At the very meeting at which the declaration was made, a native called "Teira offered some land for sale, which he and his relatives desired to dispose of to the Government." Thereupon Kingi, the chief of Teira's tribe, rose and formally protested against the sale, on the ground that the land was his. His right in it had descended to him from his father; and the old man, before his death, appears to have required and obtained a promise from his son, in the presence of the leading men of the tribe, that he would never sell it. The land in question was part of the coveted territory of Waitara; and Kingi's protest was expressed in these terms: "Listen, governor, notwithstanding Teira's offer, I will not permit the sale of Waitara to the Pakeha. Waitara is in my hands. I will not give it up; I will not; I will not; I will not." And, having said this, "he and his followers abruptly withdrew."

If words have any meaning, the land which was the subject of this discussion could hardly be said to have an "undisputed title." But for "undisputed" the governor now mentally substituted "valid;" and instead of subordinating the acquisition of land to the maintenance of peace and good feeling in the district, according to his original intention, he determined at once to throw down the gauntlet to Kingi, and to get the land at all hazards, provided Teira were competent to sell it.

The next step, therefore, was to investigate Teira's title; and the governor's method of doing so was simply to refer the question to his own district land-commissioner, — a subordinate agent, appointed, paid, and removable by the Government, and personally interested in the issue of the investigation. This, of course, was precisely analogous to the act of a man who consults his attorney with regard to the matter of any suit in which he proposes to become a party; and so far the proceeding was perfectly correct. But the governor's view appears to have been that this land-agent, who was virtually plaintiff in the cause, was at the same time its most appropriate judge. It never seems to have struck him that an impartial tribunal, an open court, or an examination of witnesses on oath, had any value whatever in the decision of a disputed claim to real property; and accordingly, as soon as his own agent had given an opinion in his favour, he treated the question as settled; took measures for having the land immediately surveyed; and ordered that, in case of any opposition being offered to the surveying party, the troops should be at once called in.

Resistance *was* offered, and the troops were called in. Presently other native tribes joined the original insurgents; then the military were reinforced. The quarrel quickly grew into a war; and, after a campaign in which the bravery of our soldiers has been far more conspicuous than their success, the Maoris are left in possession of a pah which 1000 of our men cannot venture to attack, and are reported to be gathering their forces together as though for a desperate struggle.

In communicating to the Colonial Office his intention of provoking a war, the governor pleasantly observed, that if blood were once shed it would be impossible to foresee the consequences. Some of them, at

least, will have been brought home to his consciousness by this time, and there are others which it requires no extraordinary degree of prescience for any bystander to anticipate. The natives possess the fastnesses of the country. They can by turns elude, entangle, and surprise our men in the complicated intricacies of bush warfare. And though their final triumph is of course impossible, we may have to purchase ours by a terrible expenditure of human life, and at the cost of an increased taxation utterly out of proportion to the cause of quarrel. What we have at all times most to guard against on the part of the Maoris is their union under a single chief; and it is unquestionable that the war has done more to forward this union than it would have been possible to effect by any other means within the same period. Discontented with a rule which seems to them to aim deliberately at the extinction of their race, the chiefs have now for some time established a "Maori king," elected to rule over the natives in the same way as the governor rules over the settlers. To this Maori king the land at present in dispute has been formally made over by the insurgent chief; and if the war proceeds, we shall probably have to encounter, not merely the opposition of a single tribe with its casual allies, but the hostility of half a nation. That the immediate results "to the scattered European population in the colony could not fail to be ruinous and distressing in the extreme," the governor declared himself from the beginning to be aware. It would have been fortunate if he had also observed that the immediate cause gives point, if not full justification, to the Maori policy, and throws on his own government the odium of an act which no ingenuity can reconcile with the first principles of natural justice.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Italy.

Victor Emmanuel's proclamation to the people of Southern Italy from Ancona was published Oct. 9, 1860. In it he does not defend his position on grounds of law or morals, but on physical and organic necessity, urging that a strong hand is necessary to vindicate Italy for the Italians, and to prevent its becoming "the nest of cosmopolitan sects assembling there either to hatch reactionary plots, or to further the objects of universal demagoguery," and declares that his troops march into the southern provinces merely to make the popular will respected, and to enable it to manifest itself by universal suffrage. Not long afterwards, the fall of Capua and the battle of the Garigliano (Nov. 3) opened to him the road to Naples. The voting for or against annexation had been taken Oct. 31, and displayed the same appearance of unanimity that all universal votes have recently put on. Nov. 9, the king entered Naples, in the midst of more rain than enthusiasm. Garibaldi was seated by him in his carriage; but the two men, however friendly personally, represented incompatible interests, and were soon to part. The king published a proclamation to "the Neapolitan and Sicilian peoples," accepting the noble provinces which universal suffrage had given him, and promising the inauguration of a government which should secure freedom to the people, and severe rectitude to public opinion. But this requires the coöperation of all honest men; for when power is limited by law and based upon freedom, its influence for good can only be in direct proportion to the public and private virtues of the people. "We must show Europe, that if the irresistible force of events broke through the conventionalities grounded on the calamities by which Italy was for centuries afflicted, we know how to restore to the united nation the guarantee of those unchangeable principles without which every society is weak, and every authority insecure."

Though Garibaldi had ostensibly introduced the king to the new capital he had conquered for him, yet there was no possibility of concealing the fact that the "cosmopolitan sect" which furthered "universal demagoguery" had concentrated around the late dictator. When his request that the new provinces might be committed to him for a year was refused, he resolved to part company with the king, and to retire for a season to his sea-rock at Caprera. Already, on the last day of October, in presenting the Hungarians with their new colours, he had used language towards the Pope to which Victor Emmanuel could not afford to lend his name; he had said that the Pope-king was blinded by personal ambition to oppose the national movement, and to retard the complete liberation of Italy. Garibaldi was a Christian; "but this Pope, who wishes that men should be slaves, who asks from the powerful of the earth fetters and chains for the Italians,—this Pope-king does not know Christ; he lies against his own religion." "The genius of evil for Italy is the Pope-king." With this slander he mixed up some graver matter. "It is your duty to educate the people—educate it to be Italian. Education gives liberty; educating the people means the power to assure and defend its independence. On a strong and healthy education of the people depend the liberty and the grandeur of Italy." And in his address to his "companions in arms" before his departure, Nov. 10, he alluded in no very respectful terms to the Turin cabinet, and left to them a legacy which seemed to promise a harvest of the direst dangers. "Let timid *doctrinaires* depart from among us, to carry their servility and their fears elsewhere. . . . To arms, all of you! If March 1861 does not find a million of Italians in arms, then alas for liberty, alas for the life of Italy. . . . To-day I am obliged to retire, but for a few days only." The aim of this armament was to be the annexation of Rome and Venice to united Italy.

The king's first political act at Naples was to commit the government of the continental provinces to a lieutenant, who was to have the power, till parliament met, to publish any kind of act necessary to harmonise the union, and to provide for emergencies; foreign and military affairs were to be left to the central government. Farini was nominated lieutenant, and was directed by the king, in a letter dated Nov. 14, to turn his first attention to the subject of popular education: "I am pained at learning how little care the poorer classes had received from the institutions for popular education. The religious and civil instruction of my people has been the constant thought of my reign: liberal institutions, to be useful to all, must be understood by all." The king intrusted to his lieutenant 200,000 lire for this object, and directed him to encourage the formation of associations to carry out "this work of Christian and civil progress, to which both as men and as rulers we owe the utmost solicitude."

Dec. 1. The king was received with extraordinary enthusiasm at Palermo by some 400,000 Sicilians, with the Archbishop of Palermo at their head. A royal proclamation reminded the Sicilians that one of the king's ancestors had worn their crown, and that his own brother had been chosen in 1845 to reign over them. "The government I come here to inaugurate is to be one of regeneration and concord. It will sincerely respect religion, and maintain in their integrity the most ancient prerogatives which are the glory of the Sicilian Church, and the stronghold of civil power. It will found an administration which will build up again the moral principles of a well-ordered society, and by an incessant economical progress restore the fertility of the soil [!], the commerce, and the maritime activity of the country."

The new government, however, was not sufficiently settled to go on smoothly. The king himself was badly received in Naples, and Garibaldians and Royalists caused alternate troubles. Farini was the object of all kinds of insult, and was

on more than one occasion obliged to resort to violent measures. The Royalists took occasion from the protracted defence of Gaeta to stir up reactionary movements in the provinces, especially in the Abruzzi, where the state of siege was proclaimed by the military authorities, though immediately annulled by Farini.

Francis II. at Gaeta showed no signs of yielding; he dismissed the troops who could not be received into the fortress to the Roman territory, where they were disarmed by the French and Pontifical authorities, and fed at the Pope's expense, till the bulk of them returned to the Abruzzi and other provinces, to join the guerrillas. The queen-mother and her younger children sought an asylum at Rome. The king addressed a very well-written protest to all European powers, and received promises and pecuniary assistance from more than one. The French admiral moored his fleet in Gaeta, and not only prevented the Sardinians from bombarding the town, but also threatened to fire upon Admiral Persano if he attempted to molest the Bourbon army at the mouth of the Garigliano. This conduct, complicated with revivals of the name of Prince Murat, so contrary to the English policy which Napoleon expressed himself ready to adopt with regard to Italy, has since been modified, and French support has been withdrawn from Francis II.

The English policy with regard to Italy was thus announced by Lord John Russell in a despatch to Sir James Hudson, Oct. 27. He first mentions the acts by which the cabinets of France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria have shown their displeasure at the Sardinian invasion of the Papal and Neapolitan States.

He will not attempt to decide the technical questions whether the Pope was justified in maintaining his authority by foreign levies, or whether the King of the Two Sicilies can be said to have abdicated while still holding out at Capua and Gaeta.

The questions are, Were the people of Italy justified in asking the assistance of the King of Sardinia to relieve them from governments with which they were discontented? and was the King of Sardinia justified in

fighting for the Romans and Neapolitans ?

The motives which induced these populations to join willingly in the subversion of their governments were, (1) that justice and the protection of personal liberty were so ill secured, that the overthrow of the governments seemed a necessary preliminary to any improvement; and (2) the conviction that Italian unity was the only protection of Italy from foreign control.

On these two motives Lord John Russell pronounces that the Italians are the best judges of their own interests. He adds that Vattel, discussing the support given by the Netherlands to William III. against James II., justifies it, because the people had for good reasons taken up arms against the government: and the English government would not be justified in saying that the Southern Italians had not good reasons.

But it is asserted that the Romans and Neapolitans were attached to their governments, and that the governments were only subverted by the intrigue and force of Sardinian agents and foreign adventurers.

Lord John Russell, considering that the Pope could not raise a native army, and that Garibaldi made so easy a conquest of Naples, thinks that there must have been universal dissatisfaction; and that this feeling, in Sicily at least, was not capricious, he proves by the constancy with which it has been manifested at each opportunity. Not but that it is a misfortune to have to sever the ties that bind people to their sovereign. "Notions of allegiance become confused; the succession of the throne is disputed; adverse parties threaten the peace of society; rights and pretensions are opposed to each other, and mar the harmony of the state." But in the Italian revolution all these evils have been mitigated by good temper and forbearance, by public opinion checking the extreme views of democrats and the excesses of public triumph; and a constitutional monarchy has been formed round the throne of a prince who represents an ancient and glorious dynasty.

The note of Baron Schleinitz, the Prussian minister, condemned the Italian movement as violating trea-

ties and fostering revolutions; and, on the other hand, seemed to approve of it, as representing the cause of nationality. The Prussian liberals were indignant that Prussian policy had not yet detached itself from Legitimist theories; and the Austrian party was indignant that the movement for German unity should be helped on by Prussia.

The protests of Austria and Russia proceeded on the principles of legality, legitimacy, and the inviolability of treaties. Their statesmen do not consider the non-moral forces, not amenable to law, which act in human societies.

Though the King of Sardinia invited the Cardinal-Archbishop of Naples back to his see, and promised to respect the Sicilian church, his lieutenant in Umbria, Pepoli, has provided for the extinction of all the religious houses, without even excepting the Sanctuary of St. Francis of Assisi, which, even as a living historical monument, deserved another kind of treatment. This policy of the King of Italy has called forth the following noble protest from the General of the Jesuits:

"Sire,—The Superior-General of the Company of Jesus approaches respectfully the foot of the throne of your Majesty to obtain justice and reparation for the grave wrongs his order has recently suffered in Italy; and if his demands are vain, at least publicly to protest against such acts of injustice.

"After the first agitations in Italy, which took place at the end of 1847 and at the commencement of 1848, all the establishments and colleges possessed by the Company of Jesus in the Sardinian States, whether in the Island of Sardinia or on the mainland, were suppressed, its goods confiscated, its members ignominiously dispersed.

"To give an appearance of legality to those acts of injustice, a decree was published, posterior to that which suppressed the said company, which confiscated its property, and imposed sundry gratuitously vexatious obligations upon its members.

"That decree was issued without the knowledge of your august father, Charles Albert, and even contrary to his intentions; for during the whole

of his reign that king showed himself favourable to our order, and when the storm burst he exhorted the fathers to remain firm; perceiving the fears of some of them, he complained to the superiors that they did not place sufficient confidence in his word and intention to protect them. Although the decree could not have a retro-active effect, it has been, nevertheless, invoked to legitimatise the act of our spoliation; it has been maintained and put in full force by the government which since then presides over the destinies of the kingdom.

"Dating from the war of Italy, which took place last year, up to the present moment, the company has lost in Lombardy 3 establishments and colleges, 6 in the duchy of Modena, 11 in the Papal States, 19 in the kingdom of Naples, and 15 in Sicily. Every where the company has been literally stripped of all its property, personal or landed. Its members, to the number of about 1500, have been turned out of their establishments in the towns; they have been led by armed force like malefactors from country to country, thrown into the public prisons, and grossly maltreated; they have even been prevented seeking an asylum in the bosom of some pious family, and in many localities neither their age nor infirmities have been respected.

"All these acts have been committed without any thing culpable in the eye of the law having been brought against the victims, without judicial form; the proceeding was most savage and despotic.

"Had such acts been done in a popular rising by an ignorant and furious populace, perhaps we should be able to put up with them in silence; but as an attempt has been made to legitimatise them by the Sardinian law; as the Provisional Governments established in the States of Modena and of the Church, as the Dictator of the Two Sicilies himself, have supported them on the authority of the Sardinian Government; as, finally, to give strength to those iniquitous decrees and sanction their execution, the name of your Majesty has been, and still is, invoked,—I can no longer remain a silent spectator of so great an act of

injustice; and in my position as supreme Head of the Order I feel myself rigorously bound to demand justice and satisfaction, and to protest before God and before man, so that religious resignation and meekness may not appear to have degenerated into a weakness which might be taken as a confession of culpability or as an abandonment of our rights.

"I therefore protest solemnly, in the form which I think best, against the suppression of our establishments and colleges, against the proscriptions, banishments, imprisonments, violence, and insults inflicted upon my brethren in religion.

"I protest, before all Catholics, in the name of the rights of the Holy Church, sacrilegiously violated.

"I protest in the name of the benefactors and founders of our establishments and colleges, whose wishes and express intentions in founding those pious works in the interest of the dead and of the living are thus deprived of effect.

"I protest in the name of the right of property, discarded and trodden under foot by brute force.

"I protest in the name of the right of citizen and inviolability of person, neither of which can be despoiled without accusation, trial, and sentence.

"I protest in the name of the rights of humanity, so scandalously outraged in the persons of so many feeble old men turned out of their quiet asylum, deprived of all support, thrown into the public highway without the means of existence.

"If, unhappily, I can give no other aid to my brethren, they will see at least by this step that their common father is not indifferent to their sad position.

"I address this protest to your Majesty's conscience. I place it upon the tomb of Charles Emmanuel IV., illustrious predecessor of your Majesty, who forty-five years ago voluntarily left the throne, now occupied by your Majesty, came to live and die with us, dressed in the clothes and bound by the oaths of the Company of Jesus, and professing in our novitiate at Rome, where his blessed ashes now repose, that mode of life which the Government

of your Majesty has persecuted with fierce calumny and hatred.

"The remembrance of benefits constantly conferred in past times by the illustrious House of Savoy on the Company of Jesus, and the sublime character with which your Majesty is invested, give me hope that my supplications and protestations will not be unavailing.

"But if the voice of so many rights trodden under foot should not be listened to by earthly tribunals, I will then appeal to that supreme and terrible tribunal of a holy, just, and all-powerful God, before whom oppressed innocence will infallibly be reestablished by the Eternal Judge, the King of kings, the Lord of lords. It is in the hands of that God that I place our whole cause, and, fully reassured as regards ourselves, I supplicate Him to inspire your Majesty, and the men who advise you, with sentiments of justice and equity towards so many innocent men, my unjustly persecuted and oppressed children.

"Moreover, under all circumstances, my brethren and myself will console ourselves in having been found worthy to suffer for Christ's sake, with the satisfaction of our consciences of not having given any ground for this revival of ancient hatred, unless it is to have preached the Cross of Jesus Christ, respect and obedience to the Holy Church and to its head the Sovereign Pontiff, submission and fidelity to Princes and to all authorities established by God.

"I remain your Majesty's most humble servant,

"PIERRE BECKX,
Superior-General of the
Company of Jesus.

"Rome, October 24, 1860."

The question of Roman finance, which seemed to be hopelessly involved by the loss of Umbria and the Marches, and which seemed so desperate that Rothschild, the Pope's banker at Paris, refused to pay the last dividends till the whole amount was remitted to him, has been further complicated by the enlistment of a new army of between 10,000 and 12,000 men, at an estimated expense of 2,700,000 scudi a year; this, added to the interest on the debt

(5,500,000 scudi), the civil list of Pope and Cardinals and expenses of the palaces (60,000); the pensions of the 1400 *employés* from Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches, who are now receiving their pay in Rome, and of the other retired public servants,—is said to raise the Roman expenditure to about 12,000,000 scudi a year. If the dividends were left unpaid, the expenditure would still be near 7,000,000.

On the other hand, the custom-house at Civita Vecchia, is estimated to produce for next year some 500,000 scudi, and the property-tax about the same amount. The *octroi* produces about 750,000, and the lottery and post-office, salt and tobacco, about 350,000. Here is an income of rather more than two millions against an expenditure of rather less than seven.

The chasm is to be filled up, if possible, by the collection of Peter's pence. The spontaneous gifts of the faithful, during the last fifteen months, have amounted to 2,000,000 scudi. From this time the collection is to be organised and managed by the great confraternity of St. Peter; but in France the government has already prohibited that association, and in Prussia it is not likely that the bureaucracy will allow what must appear to it to be a rival organisation. In non-Catholic countries, the clergy generally depend on the voluntary contributions of the faithful, and cannot long be expected to uphold very heartily that which will be a continual diminution of the ordinary clerical funds. In old times the Peter's pence formed only an insignificant item of the Papal income, and was collected in countries where the Church was splendidly endowed.

France.

Nov. 10. A new blow was aimed at ecclesiastical liberty in France by the publication of a circular of M. Billault, the Minister of the Interior, directed to the Prefects of the Provinces, and pointing out that episcopal documents, though hitherto exempted from the formalities required in other publications, had lately grown to be mere political pamphlets, criticising the events of Europe, discussing and attacking the

acts of government. To prevent this abuse, the government will not withdraw the exemption altogether, but will confine it to pastorals and *mandemens* that treat *bonâ fide* only spiritual matters, and that are printed, not like pamphlets, but in the shape of placards to be stuck up at the church-doors. The former are to be subject to the usual regulations of the press. In this the government (according to M. Billault) only distinguishes between religion and politics — between the decisions which the Catholic must obey, and the opinions which the citizen may contradict; but makes no attack upon liberty.

About the same time, the same minister had published another circular, in which he declared all associations for the collection of Peter's pence illegal. In consequence of the indignation this caused, a *communiqué* was published in the journals of the 20th. M. Billault explained that "individual offerings are still free; that they may be forwarded either directly, or through the Bishop or Curé; but that the organisation of committees, each member with his list of ten or a hundred subscribers, was forbidden. "Liberty for spontaneous offerings, prohibition of committees and permanent associations," which may easily be turned into engines of political propaganda.

A day or two afterwards a provincial journal, *La France Centrale*, was suspended for two months for inserting a portion of M. Berryer's preface to a book on the French bar. This intolerable despotism filled up the measure of the interference of officials like M. Billault with the press. Since February 17, 1852, when the decree on the press was published, there had been 226 warnings, suspensions, or suppressions of journals, giving for the nine years an average of about one a fortnight. So far from all these arbitrary acts having been provoked by attacks on the State, as distinguished from criticisms upon its policy, many of them had been done upon the most frivolous pretexts. One provincial journal had been warned for disapproving of an artificial manure that had been recommended by the officials. The

Presse was warned for saying that France had sympathised with the coalition which overthrew the first Empire; and another Parisian journal for having argued that bank-notes ought to be a legal tender.

But on the 24th of November, Lewis Napoleon, either weary of servility and willing to give a turn to freedom, or frightened by the warning of the Neapolitan revolution, and unwilling to leave to Napoleon IV. a legacy like that of Ferdinand to Francis II.; or willing to throw the responsibility of such measures as are dimly sketched in the pamphlet *Pape et Empereur* off himself, and on to France—published the following decree:

"Desiring to afford to the great bodies of the State a more direct participation in the general policy of our Government, and a marked proof of our confidence, we have decreed and decree as follows:

"Art. 1. The Senate and Corps Legislatif shall annually vote an Address in reply to our Speech at the opening of the Session.

"Art. 2. The Address shall be discussed in presence of Government Commissioners, who will give to the Chambers the necessary explanations on the home and foreign policy of the Empire.

"Art. 3. To facilitate to the Legislative Body the expression of its opinion in framing laws, and the exercise of the right of amendment, Art. 54 of our decree of the 22d of March 1852 is revived, and the regulation of the Legislative Body is modified in the following manner:

"Immediately after the distribution of the *projets de loi*, and on a day fixed by the President, the Legislative Body, before appointing its committee, will hold a secret committee meeting; a general discussion will be opened on the *projet de loi*, in which the Government Commissioners will take part.

"This regulation is not applicable either to *projets de loi* of local interest or in cases of urgency."

"Art. 4. With a view to render the reports of the debates in the Senate and Legislative Body more prompt and more complete, the following project of *Senatus-Consultum* will be brought before the Senate:

"The reports of the sittings of the Senate and of the Legislative Body, drawn up by secretary-reporters, placed under the authority of the President of either Chamber, will be sent every evening to all the journals. Moreover, the debates of each sitting shall be taken down in shorthand, and published *in extenso* in the official paper of the following day.

"Art. 5. As long as the Session lasts, the Emperor will appoint Ministers without portfolios to defend the *projets de loi* of the Government before the Chambers, in concert with the members of the Council of State."

This was followed by several changes in the ministry, the most important being the appointment of M. Persigny to the Interior. The new minister, in a circular to the Prefects, dated Dec. 6, after a rather apocryphal account of the conditions of liberty of the press in England, announced the new principles on which the law of warnings, &c., was to be administered. It is to be done, not in the interest of the administration, but of the State. So that, while no provocations to substitute a new government or a new dynasty for the present are to be allowed, the press is to be permitted "to expose abuses in society and in the government, to discuss the acts of the administration, to reveal injustice, and to awaken social, political, commercial, and industrial life by the movement of ideas, of sentiments, and of contrary opinions." Still the power of the administration over the press is "discretionary;" limited by no law, checked by no juries; and of this France still complains, in spite of the decree of the 10th of December annulling all former warnings. As a supplement to this, all prosecutions in progress have been given up, and the suppressed journals are the only ones whose wounds have not been bound up.

As a necessary supplement to the decree of the 24th of November, the dissolution of the present chamber is required. This measure causes considerable fear among the talking ministers, the *tenors*, who apprehend that they would find themselves unequal to the management of a house which would probably contain several of the more prominent

members of the former free chambers.

A pamphlet, which appears, by the way in which the discussion is followed up by the semi-official press, to be a real indication of the Emperor's policy, has been published in Paris. Its object is to engage Francis Joseph to part with Venetia for a consideration, as Napoleon I. parted with Louisiana for 80,000,000 francs. The indemnity it proposes is 500,000,000 or 600,000,000 francs; and for that an expensive and dangerous province would be got rid of without dishonour, and the necessity of a new war in the spring would be obviated. No one at Vienna will hear of the project; but the pamphlet has been extensively circulated in Germany, with the object of bringing the weight of public opinion to bear on the Austrian cabinet.

Austria and Germany.

Most of our remarks on this head have been anticipated in the Article on Austria in this Number.

Baron Schmerling published, December 23, a circular to the governors of the provinces of the Austrian Empire, in which he explains the leading principles of his policy.

"It is the mission of the Ministers of State to carry out fully and effectively the resolutions and intentions of the Emperor, as expressed in the imperial manifesto of October 20.

"As regards freedom of religious worship, it is the will of the Emperor that political and civil rights shall in that respect also be preserved against any encroachment, and that the mutual relations of the different confessions shall be established upon an equitable footing, and upon the real love for one's neighbour.

"Public instruction will be promoted by every possible means.

"The free development of the nationalities is accorded."

With respect to the public press, every preventive interference is removed.

"The development of agriculture, commerce, and industry will be pursued with redoubled energy on the path hitherto followed.

"The communes will enjoy an independent existence.

"The administration of justice is

to be separated from the governmental administration.

"Publicity and the oral form of proceeding are to be introduced into the civil and penal courts of law."

As regards the Provincial Statutes, the Minister of State has been authorised to introduce into the fundamental laws the principle of representation of the different interests by means of direct elections, and the extension of electoral rights and eligibility, the right of initiative, and the publicity of debates.

On the Council of the Empire, to whose province belongs the general legislation, while the Provincial Diets are only competent to legislate on provincial questions, is therefore conferred the right of originating projects of law and publicity of debates.

The Council of the Empire will be composed of members unconditionally elected by the Provincial Diets, and will, besides, receive additional members.

The Provincial Governments of the minor Crown-lands, recently suppressed, are to be re-established.

In conclusion, Baron Schmerling exhorts the public functionaries to a conscientious discharge of their duties, to the furtherance of the interests of the inhabitants of their provinces, to a strict observance of the laws, and to candour in their official reports on the condition of the country.

The great difficulty of Schmerling was the apparent necessity of giving to all the non-Hungarian provinces one parliament, and to Hungary another, and thus dividing Austria into two rival states. This difficulty is not solved by allowing the provincial parliaments the power of legislating only on provincial questions; while the Council of the Empire will alone be competent to legislate on imperial questions. For the Hungarian Diet is excepted by name from the disabilities imposed on the other provincial parliaments.

The union of all the non-Hungarian provinces in the Reichsrath obviates one capital defect of Rechberg's plan, the setting up a multitude of small and discordant provincial estates against a large and united Hungary. Schmerling, as a

German, was a national necessity, because Goluchowsky, as a Slavonian, seemed to give a meaning to the Rechberg constitution, which weakened the German element by dividing it, and therefore made the Germans jealous of the Slavonians and other alien races.

It seems that Schmerling will revise the Concordat. This may very likely be necessary for the Catholic interests; half the Concordat executed, and secured by analogous liberties in all other departments of society, will be better than the present agreement, impossible to be carried out, and quite unsafe.

The army of Italy is not discouraged, but eager to fight, and confident of victory. Benedek is not so popular at court as in camp, because the army forced him on the Emperor. As long as the Archduke Albert serves peaceably under him, there will be no breach; if such a misfortune should occur, Wallenstein is spoken of as his successor. It appears likely also that the Archduke Stephen, who in 1848 lost the confidence of both parties, will be again consulted and placed in some great office. He has complete confidence in the result of things in Hungary.

China.

After the breach of the treaty of Tien-tsin, and the disaster at the Taku forts last year, a combined English and French expedition was necessary to secure new guarantees of its observance. August 1st, the allied army of 10,000 men, under Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban, landed at Pehatang, to the north of the Taku forts; on the 12th they advanced to Sinho, and then to Tang-kow, thus placing themselves between Peking and the forts. Aug. 21st, the north fort was taken, with the loss of about 300 men, and all the other forts were occupied, and the Peiho river was opened to within twelve miles of Peking. About the end of August the army marched to Tien-tsin, where the ambassadors were deluded into spending some days in negotiations with commissioners who had no powers. Sept. 9th, the trick was exploded, and the army marched to-

wards Peking; a party of English and French officers was captured by treachery, and treated in such a way that only two out of six of the English survived. After two cheaply-won battles against the Tartar cavalry, Sept. 18th and 21st, and the capture and looting of the Summer Palace, October 13th, Peking surrendered; but the emperor and his court had fled to Zehol, in Tartary. Oct. 18th, the English burnt the Summer Palace. Oct. 24th, Lord Elgin and Prince Kung, the emperor's brother, concluded a peace, of which the principle articles are—

1. An apology from the emperor for the affair at the Taku forts last year.

2. The British minister to reside at Peking.

3. The indemnity, which is doubled, and fixed at 8,000,000 taels, to be paid by instalments.

4. Tien-tsin to be opened to trade immediately.

5. The interdict on emigration removed.

6. Cession of Kow-loon (a strip of land opposite Hong-Kong, and necessary to complete the defences of its harbour) to England.

7. The treaty of Tien-tsin and the convention of Peking to be put in immediate operation.

8. This convention to be published throughout China.

9. Chusan to be evacuated by the English.

The armies were to leave Peking Nov. 8. The French had obtained the restoration of all the buildings formerly belonging to the Catholics in China. The free exercise of Christianity is promised.

United States.

The President's Message, delivered to Congress Dec. 4, 1860, is of more than ordinary importance, as it contains his suggestions for dealing with the secession movements in South Carolina, Georgia, and other slave-states, consequent upon the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency by the Republican party.

The material prosperity of the States is unexampled; but the existence of the Union is threatened. "The long-continued and intempe-

rate interference of the northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States" has at length caused the formation of "hostile geographical parties." The danger does not arise simply from the quarrel about the provisional exclusion of slavery from the territories till they become states, or from the efforts of particular states to defeat the fugitive law; but from the influence which the Northern agitation has had upon the negroes in the South, and the consequent terror of the planters at the prospect of a servile insurrection. They feel obliged to sacrifice the Union to their own personal safety.

But the secession is not yet accomplished, and may still be averted. The Northern people must put a stop to their agitation against slavery; they must let the South alone to manage its domestic institutions in its own way. They have no right to interfere, and patriotism now commands them to forbear. On the other hand, the Southern people have no right to dissolve the Union on account of any particular person being constitutionally elected to the Presidency, especially if his election is the result of a plurality, not a majority, of the people; for then the case may never occur again. They are bound to wait for some overt unconstitutional act of the President-elect before seceding. But, in fact, whatever his wishes may be, no President can act contrary to the constitution; he is surrounded with so many official checks and safeguards that he must necessarily be a conservative. And, in fact, all the acts of the American government with regard to slavery have hitherto been conservative.

Whatever injustice is done to the Southern States is due, not to the central authority of the Union, not to Congress, whose measures have always favoured the South, but to particular states. The central authority of the Union, whether legislative or judicial, has ever favoured the South, and been its safeguard. Why should the South fear a change? The rights of property can never be abandoned to the legislative interference of the separate states.

For the unconstitutional refusals of

these states to execute the fugitive-slave law neither Congress nor President is responsible. All these acts are null and void. The fugitive law is fundamentally an original part of the constitution, and the next President will violate his duty if he refuses to execute it. Still, unless the different states repeal their unconstitutional enactments, and that "without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union."

If the North refuses this act of justice to the South, the latter, after using all constitutional means to obtain redress, will be justified in taking the revolutionary measure of secession. For secession, justifiable or not, will always be revolutionary; since, as Mr. Buchanan argues at length, it is not, and cannot be provided for by the letter of the constitution. But revolutions may be justifiable; for the declaration of independence recognises the right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their governments.

What, then, is the duty of the executive governor in the present crisis? He is bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. But in South Carolina the resignation of all the federal authorities leaves him without means of executing the laws; and the peculiar measures which the constitution sanctions for supplying such deficiency of means are equally inapplicable through the same cause. But where the President lacks constitutional means of enforcing obedience to the constitution, the question must clearly be referred to Congress.

But has Congress authority "to coerce a state into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the confederacy?" Historically, the answer is no; theoretically, the problem is impossible. The confederacy is one of free states; but a state loses its freedom by coercion and conquest. Practically, it would be foolish to coerce, for it would prevent future reconciliation. The Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live

in the affections of the people, it must one day perish.

But conciliation is still possible. If two-thirds of the Congress propose, and two-thirds of the separate states accept, amendments in the constitution, those amendments become law. Let there be such an explanatory amendment on the subject of slavery, containing three articles: (1) recognising the right of property in slaves throughout all the present and future slave-states; (2) protecting this right in all territories that are not yet states, leaving the state legislature free afterwards to determine whether slavery shall be allowed or not; (3) recognising the validity of the fugitive law, which compels the non-slavery states to deliver up runaway negroes to their owners.

Mr. Buchanan's so-called compromise seems to halt upon one leg, inasmuch as he recommends the North to make full submission to the South. He argues quite as a party man, and with manifest inconsistency, inasmuch as he has coerced Texas, though he finds no law for coercing South Carolina. It is clear that if it were possible for Congress and two-thirds of the separate states to adopt his suggestion before Mr. Lincoln's term of office commences, the democratic party and the South would have gained a great victory. But who can tell whether the resentment of a defeat inflicted by such manifest straining of the constitution would not justify the North in secession from the South? Besides, it might possibly happen that a President-elect, who had been chosen to execute the constitutional law as it stood in December 1860, might not be constitutionally bound to execute the alterations of that constitution which had been introduced against his will between his election and his inauguration. This interval was intended by the framers of the constitution to allow time for the electioneering passions to subside before the newly-elected President began business; it was never meant to afford an opportunity for an outgoing President to steal a march on his successor.

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PART XII.

THE NEO-PROTESTANTISM OF OXFORD.*

WE have no scruple in saying that this volume is, without exception, the most remarkable contribution to English Protestant theology which has appeared since the *Tracts for the Times*, and the earlier works of Dr. Newman, first startled the stagnant orthodoxy of the country into paroxysms of wondering admiration or screams of frightened hate. It marks an epoch in the history, not of literature, but of religious thought. It gives form and name to sentiments widely spread, which have long been uneasily yearning for some adequate expression, and is a kind of touchstone, if we may be allowed to say so, by which the thoughts of many hearts are revealed.

The present age is, beyond all that have preceded it, since the downfall of the Roman Empire, an age of the breaking up of old beliefs, social, political, religious; the age of lyric poetry and subjective creed. It is an age of universal scepticism, when men rather catch at what is new than trust any thing which has hitherto been regarded as true. Its spirit, indeed, is very different from the coarse vulgarity of Tom Paine, or the polite cynicism of Gibbon, "sapping with solemn sneer a solemn creed;" it is not, like the last century, an age of unblushing infidelity, but of sorrowful, unhopeful, and almost reluctant doubt, which gives a tinge of romance to its literature, and even to its art. It has declared by the lips of its representative poet

* *Essays and Reviews.* Fourth Edition. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand.

that its highest attainable knowledge of the world beyond the grave is that of

“An infant crying in the night;
An infant crying for the light;
And with no language but a cry.”

And that long cry is taken up and reëchoed with thrilling and pathetic intensity in the plaintive soul-dirges of its representative musician. It is such an age as came on Athens in the zenith of her intellectual splendour, when her immortal poetry reflected the shadows of a dissolving faith, and her art, in all its loveliness, was but the bloom of decay. To borrow the Comtian enumeration of cycles, the theological and metaphysical period, the age of reverent wonder and systematic creed, are past; and the physical period has succeeded, when men will believe nothing which they cannot touch, or taste, or see. And therefore we attach peculiar importance to the work now lying before us, as an open declaration of the manner in which, as we had already surmised, the characteristic tendencies of the day have extorted for themselves a conscious recognition in the hearts of its Protestant theologians, and found an utterance from the pulpits and professorial chairs of the Protestant Church. In saying this, we do not for a moment forget that “a theologian, above other men, should be one who can take into his large heart, with genial sympathy rather than with critical distrust, the whole of the century in which he lives;”^{*} a truth which is eloquently illustrated from the question of the plurality of worlds in a recent Catholic work on the Incarnation. It is not of the Essayists’ sympathy with the genius of their age, but of the shape which that sympathy has taken, that we are now speaking, as the index of a radical change—we had almost said a revolution—in the whole tone and habitual current of religious feeling in this country. We do not speak unadvisedly. When we consider the subject-matter of these *Essays*, which are all more or less theological,—the substantial harmony of the views they contain, and the boldness with which those views are enunciated,—the character and position of the writers, of whom all but one are clergymen, and all are distinguished members of one or other of the two great Universities; when, finally, we consider the reception their book has met with, it would be difficult to exaggerate its importance as a moral fact indicating the present religious attitude of the English mind.

* Faber’s *Bethlehem*, p. 318.

In estimating such a publication, it would be a great mistake to ignore the circumstances under which it comes before us. It will be worth while, therefore, before we proceed to notice the contents of the Essays, to dwell for a few minutes on the names and antecedents of the essayists. The first in order, Dr. Temple, a double-first-class man, after being for some years tutor of Balliol, and subsequently Principal, as long as it existed, of the Government Training Institution at Kneller Hall, succeeded the present Bishop of London in the head-mastership of Rugby, which he still administers with eminent success. Dr. Rowland Williams, the author of *Rational Godliness*, is the Vice-Principal of a college where the Welsh clergy receive their education. The late Mr. Baden Powell was Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and the author of two works which eliminate the supernatural element respectively from the Old and New Testaments, and which were, we believe, originally delivered in the form of lectures, from the pulpit of one of the most fashionable Tractarian churches in London. Mr. Wilson, late Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, convulsed the University some few years ago by a course of Bampton Lectures, which greatly exceeded the heterodoxy, but wholly escaped the censure, of Dr. Hampden's. Mr. Goodwin, the only non-clerical Essayist, is a distinguished member of the University of Cambridge. The two remaining writers have been for many years the leading tutors of their respective colleges at Oxford. Mr. Pattison, who has just been elected Rector of Lincoln, was a writer in Dr. Newman's Protestant series of *Lives of the English Saints*, but has been for some time past looked up to as a champion by the Rationalist party at Oxford. Mr. Jowett, the last, and in every way the most remarkable, of the seven essayists, now Regius Professor of Greek, has been for many years *facile princeps* among a body of men who have raised Balliol to its unchallenged supremacy as the first college in Oxford. In that position his genuine kindness of disposition, and ungrudging self-sacrifice in the service of those with whose education he is concerned, no less than his rare abilities, have won him the respect of all, and the warm affection of many, who have been brought into personal contact with him. His comments on St. Paul's Epistles are too well known to require further notice here.

Such are the seven authors of the work before us, a work which, as we shall presently have occasion to show, undermines, by its suicidal advocacy, the very foundations of all religious belief. And how has that work been received? It

has now been for some months before the public, and has already with singular rapidity reached a fourth edition. It has been universally read and universally talked of among Protestants. With the exception of one or two feeble protests from the pens of individual High Churchmen, and a condemnatory criticism in the pages of the *Christian Remembrancer* and *Quarterly*, it has not, so far as we are aware, provoked any direct attack; while a writer in the *Westminster*, who seems to speak from personal knowledge, and whose view is entirely borne out by every thing we have been able to gather from other quarters, treats it as the genuine expression of the young Oxford mind. Still less has any breath of official censure passed on it from the authorities of the University to which most of its writers belong. The very form of the Episcopal protest seems to show that the Protestant bishops are not in a position to interfere, and that there was either no desire or no possibility of inducing the Convocation, which censured Dr. Hampden in 1836 for Sabellian teaching on the doctrine of the Trinity, and degraded Mr. Ward in 1844 for claiming "to hold all Roman doctrine," to condemn in 1860 the publication of principles which make any belief in Christian revelation, as at least nine-tenths of professing Christians understand the word, simply impossible.

This is strong language, but not stronger than we are prepared to justify. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. Nothing can be further from our intention than to make or insinuate any charge of dishonesty against the writers. All that is known of their character and antecedents would make such an insinuation ridiculous. It is precisely because no sane man doubts the perfect honesty of their subscription to the Anglican formularies, or the perfect sincerity of their conviction that they are authorised, and even bound, to teach what they do teach, as members of the national Universities and ministers of the national Church, that the appearance of this volume constitutes so remarkable a phenomenon. We are aware that the Essayists disclaim in their preface any specific responsibility for one another's views. But we shall not do them injustice in treating their work as in some sense a whole, for the mere fact of their uniting in its publication must imply a general community of sentiment. Nor would it be difficult to exhibit this in detail, as regards, at least, the principal negative features of their theology, were it necessary to do so.

It would of course be impossible, within our present limits, to give any thing like a full review of seven essays extending

over so wide a range of questions, scriptural, theological, moral, and scientific. We must content ourselves with first briefly indicating the salient features of the Essayists' conception of Christianity, and then proceeding to show its fatal inconsistency with either of the two broad conceptions of authority and evidence which have, as Professor Baden Powell observes, been respectively considered by the different sections of English Protestants to supply a sufficient basis of religious belief.

Dr. Temple's essay on the *Education of the World*, which stands first in the volume, is at once the most attractive in its general scope, and the least offensive in detail, of any which it contains; though, like all the rest, it is not wanting in pregnant hints—*φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσι*—which imply more than they actually state, and suggest more than they necessarily imply. With much of it we can cordially sympathise. It is not the Catholic dogma of original justice and original sin, but the narrow Lutheran perversion of it, which, as Möhler has pointed out in his *Symbolism*, makes a philosophy of history impossible. Catholic writers, too, have loved to trace the progressive education of mankind, both within and without the pale of direct revelation, and have shown how Greek intellect, Roman law, and Asiatic mysticism, no less truly than Hebrew religion, though in a different manner and degree, were trained to minister to the requirements of the future Church. And Dr. Temple has rightly insisted on this circumstance as giving so peculiar a value, even on religious grounds, to classical studies. But it is rather a startling comment on that "fulness of time" in which our Lord appeared, to be told that, "had His revelation been delayed till now, assuredly it would have been hard for us to recognise His Divinity; for the faculty of faith has turned inwards, and cannot now accept any outer manifestations of the truth of God."* When, again, the Essayist informs us, obviously intending doctrine to be included in his statement, that, since the apostolic age, "the Church, in the fullest sense, is left to herself to work out, by her natural faculties, the principles of her own action," we cannot help being reminded that he belongs to a so-called Church which is left to its "natural faculties," and which, in consequence, is shedding, year by year, the supernatural elements of its creed. We have no quarrel with him when he asserts that portions of the Bible have been misinterpreted or misapplied before now—not by the Church (as Mr. Goodwin seems to imagine), but by the

* The italics are ours.

majority of individual Christians. The Copernican system was discredited in the days of Galileo, and the science of geology has been looked on with suspicion in our own. But when our author proceeds to observe, that "the principle of private judgment puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be a duty to disobey," one is tempted to ask, if conscience teaches, as many say it does, that the slaughter of the Canaanites is inconsistent with morality, or the doctrine of the atonement with the justice of God—which authority we are to follow, the seeming dictate of conscience, or the clear declaration of Scripture? If the former, Scripture ceases to be an infallible guide; if the latter, conscience must submit to at least a provisional suspension of its alleged supremacy.

Of the remaining six Essays, four are mainly occupied in the treatment of Scripture, while one gives a chapter in the history of Anglicanism, and another investigates its theory, under the title of *The National Church*. To say that Dr. Williams discredits the authenticity of the Bible, that the late Professor Powell and Mr. Goodwin eliminate its supernaturalism, and that Professor Jowett throws any orthodox interpretation of its contents, in the widest sense of the word 'orthodox,' into hopeless confusion, is rather to underrate than to exaggerate the necessary results of their teaching. We can only afford space for a few crucial instances, which must serve as examples of the rest. Dr. Williams is giving us the results of Bunsen's *Biblical Researches*, but his own opinions appear, if any thing, to go beyond his author's. Hence we learn that the "historical portion" of the Bible "begins with Abraham;" that in the account of the exodus of Israel there are "signs of a struggle conducted by human means;" that the passage of the Red Sea "may be interpreted with the latitude of poetry;" and "the avenger who slew the first-born may have been the Bedouin host." After this we are prepared to be told that "the fierce ritual of Syria, with the awe of a Divine voice, bade Abraham slay his son;" but that he "trusted that the Father, whose voice from heaven he heard at heart, was better pleased with mercy than with sacrifice; and this trust was his righteousness." It is satisfactory to find that there *may* be two "Messianic prophecies" in the Old Testament,—“one, perhaps, in Zachariah, and one in Isaiah,”—though even these "tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of searching inquiry;" and regret is expressed that Bunsen should still seem to ascribe a "kind of clairvoyance," though not held to be infallible, to

the Hebrew prophets. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah treats either of "idealised Israel," or of Jeremiah as its typical representative. The latter portions of Isaiah are written by an uncertain author, whom Bunsen, with some probability, identifies with Baruch. The book of Jonah "contains a late legend, founded on a misconception." Passing from the Old Testament to the New, we are told that Christ is "the *moral* Saviour of mankind;" that the fires of Gehenna "may serve as images of distracted remorse;" that "heaven is not a place so much as the fulfilment of the love of God." We are met by new definitions of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which are at once unorthodox and unmeaning; and learn without surprise that Bunsen resolved original sin into a metaphor, and was careful to distinguish his belief in a future life from the notion of a "fleshy resurrection."

It would be of course impossible to enter here *ἐν παρέργῳ* on so wide a question as the relations of geology and Genesis. But we may observe, in passing, that while no Catholic will accept Mr. Goodwin's explanation of the *Mosaic Cosmogony* as "the speculation of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton," he is quite mistaken in supposing "the Romish Church" has in any way pledged her members to those literal interpretations, which he repudiates. He can scarcely be ignorant that none have been so loud or so illogical as Protestant controversialists in their denunciations of geology. We are disposed to agree with the Essayist in considering both Dr. Buckland's and Hugh Miller's schemes of conciliation inadmissible; and we are as ready as he can be to let science do its work and have its say. When geologists have agreed on their own science (which is as yet in a fluctuating and tentative condition), and when Darwin has reconciled with its results his theory of the *Origin of Species* (which is as yet in open antagonism with them),—it may be time for us to consider the relations of either system to revealed dogma. In any case, we have nothing to fear. Physical science is still in its infancy, and is the natural ally, rather than the enemy, of theology. It is in itself a kind of revelation of God. His spoken and His created utterances must ever be in perfect agreement. As an illustrious Catholic author has observed, "Theology and science need at most to be connected, never to be reconciled."

Professor Baden Powell leads us from the contents of the Bible to the *Study of the Evidences of Christianity*, which he appears to regard as mainly, to say the least, of an internal and subjective kind. He is anxious to depreciate, if not to discard, the miraculous element of the Bible, as being "in-

conceivable" in itself, and inconsistent with the "*historical* character of the book," and with the fixed "*order of nature.*"* Nor can it be denied that, on the Protestant hypothesis of rejecting all later miracles, those recorded in Scripture hold a very anomalous position. Whether the Essayist acquiesces in Schleiermacher's view, to which he refers, of their being true relatively to the apprehensions of their age, is not clear; but he certainly excludes them from the domain of "*faith,*" which is relegated to "the region of spiritual things," and forbidden to meddle with "physical sensation, and the possible conceptions of *intellect* or *knowledge.*" With his dislike of Paley, and his general dissatisfaction with the one-sidedness of Protestant writers on the "Evidences," we heartily agree, and can admit, as Catholics, much of his argument which, from any other point of view, would be fatal to belief in Revelation. But it is obvious to remark that a Christianity denuded of miracles, whatever be its merits or its claims, is not the Christianity of the Gospels, the multitude, or the Church.

No brief analysis or series of quotations would convey an adequate idea of the scope of Professor Jowett's essay *On the Interpretation of Scripture*, which, of all in the volume, is the longest, the ablest, and the most interesting. If its principles were accepted, they would revolutionise all existing methods of biblical criticism. Starting from the "strange though familiar fact," that an "extreme variety of interpretation is found to exist in the case of no other book but of the Scriptures only," he proposes to remedy it by applying to the Bible the same fixed rules of criticism as to "Plato or Sophocles." He complains, not unjustly, that it has ever been a mine from which controversial weapons have been forged for the exigencies of every party and every age; as we venture to think it will continue to be, when no authoritative exponent is recognised. In illustration of this complaint, he observes, *inter alia*, that "the accuracy of the Old Testament is not measured by the standard of primeval history" (which usually, of course, includes a large admixture of fable); that "the various theories of the origin of the three first Gospels" (which ascribe them to a later date) are uncritically disparaged, as tending to "sap the inspiration of the New Testament;" and that the language in which our Saviour speaks of His own union with the Father is interpreted by the language of the creeds" (which, of course, changes its meaning). We are cautioned against any view of "inspira-

* The italics are all his own.

tion" which would, on the one hand, forbid us to hold that "it is possible, and may one day be known, that mankind spread, not from one, but from many centres over the globe; or, as others say, that the supply of links which are at present wanting in the chain of animal life may lead to new conclusions respecting the origin of man;" or which, on the other hand, would oblige us to maintain "that the book of Moses contains truths or precepts, such as the duty of prayer, or the faith in immortality, or the spiritual interpretation of sacrifice;" and to "defend or explain away David's imprecations against his enemies, or his injunctions to Solomon." We are reminded that it is an "anachronism" to "attribute to St. Paul or the Twelve the abstract notion of Christian truth which afterwards sprang up in the Catholic Church," though it is added, that to interpret their words by any other "definite rule of faith, as, for example, the Unitarian," would be equally a mistake. Similarly, the writer is disposed to agree with Jeremy Taylor, that the Nicene definition was "the greatest misfortune that ever befell the Christian world," but observes, that "a different decision would have been a greater misfortune." His own co-religionists ought to feel the justice of his complaint, that, while eagerly wresting to their purposes texts of doubtful meaning, they ignore or explain away others which teach simpler but more unpalatable truths, such as those which speak of the blessedness of poverty and self-sacrifice, or the duty of forgiveness to fallen women; and his remark, that if they may "assume the New Testament as a tradition running parallel with the Old, Roman Catholics may assume with equal reason a tradition running parallel with the New;" and again, that "the Roman Catholic explanation of *Ipsa conteret caput tuum*" is quite as reasonable as the ordinary Protestant view, that "the words 'out of Egypt I have called my Son,' were *intended* by the prophet to refer to the return of Joseph and Mary." No Greek scholar will question Mr. Jowett's right to be heard on the *language* of the New Testament, and every one will readily agree with his remark, that "the beauty and power of speech and writing would be greatly impaired if the Scriptures ceased to be known or used among us." But these are matters of comparatively minor importance. Throughout the Essay he treats that "continuous growth of revelation," which in a certain sense is undoubtedly true, in such a manner as practically to reduce the Bible to a progressive record of the thoughts and experiences of mankind; "inspired," it may be, but inspired in the sense that Homer and Dante and Shakespeare may be called inspired, or as inspiration may be

rightly predicated of the great and good of every age. Again, we are constrained to remark, if this be Scriptural Christianity, the faith of Scripture has for eighteen centuries escaped the apprehension of Christendom.

Mr. Pattison's inquiry into the *Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750*, is historical rather than doctrinal in its form; but contains throughout a running exposure, quiet and crushing, of the blustering imbecility, the barren and degraded naturalism, of the Hanoverian school of theology, of which the best that can be said is, that "it had taken a brief for the Apostles," and of the utter unreality of the Anglican theory of belief. "The old and venerated authority had been broken by the Reformation. The new authority of the Anglican Establishment had existed in theory only, and never in fact, and the Revolution had crushed the theory." The writer himself appears to take up a position external to all existing creeds and systems, as one who has weighed them in the balance and found them wanting. To all who are interested, on whatever grounds, in the past of Anglicanism, his Essay will amply repay a careful perusal. Mr. Wilson takes up the thread of the argument where his fellow-essayist had dropped it, and treats, not of the past history, but the present state, and true, though as yet unrealised, idea of *the National Church*. His view is precisely what his Bampton Lecture on the *Communion of Saints* would have led us to anticipate. It is purely naturalistic. "Heathendom had its national Churches,"—that is his starting-point. His ideal is a national or "multitudinist Church," including "the strangest and most incongruous beliefs," and excommunicating only, if at all, in cases of gross immorality, as being exclusively concerned with "the ethical development of its members." He adverts to the notable fact that "a number equal to five millions and a quarter of persons should have neglected to attend means of public worship within their reach on the census Sunday in 1851;" or, as he elsewhere expresses it, that the number of candidates for Anglican ordination is sensibly diminished by the fact, "that nearly one-half of our population are at present more or less alienated from the communion of the National Church;" while great dissatisfaction prevails among the existing clergy with "some portion at least" of its formularies. To remedy this, he is anxious to free them from their subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles; which, however, he regards even now as imposing no restraint except on the *expression* of opinion, while he subjects them to a process of special pleading in the latitudinarian interest, which, when urged with far more reserve

from an opposite quarter, drew down on its advocates his severest censure and his bitterest scorn. His views of inspiration may be gathered from his statement that, if Scripture really bears out our ordinary traditions (about original sin), "the authors of the Scriptural books have, in these matters, represented to us their own inadequate conceptions, and not the mind of the Spirit of God," which, as we afterwards learn, "must be supplied rather from reflections suggested by our own moral instincts." Without violating the Anglican formularies, "one may accept literally, or allegorically, or as parable, or poetry, or legend, the story of a serpent-tempter, of an ass speaking with man's voice, of an arresting of the earth's motion, of a reversal of its motion, of waters standing in a solid heap, of witches and a variety of apparitions, . . . and the miraculous particulars of many events." Nay more, it is reasonable to suppose that there are "traits in the Scriptural person of Jesus which are better explained by referring them to an ideal than an historical origin." This ingenious process the essayist calls "ideology." We should ourselves describe it in simpler terms. "To an unbelieving people," says a writer already quoted, "religion has neither facts nor doctrines, in the strict sense of those words, *but only symbols and views.*"* After the whole Gospel narrative of our Lord's conception, birth, and infancy has been thus ideologically disposed of, it is satisfactory to be assured that, notwithstanding, "the *incarnation* (?) of the divine Immanuel remains;" though we shall not dispute the Essayist's admission that the teacher of such views "may sometimes be thought sceptical, and be sceptical."

Such, then, is a brief account of the most startling theories propounded in this remarkable volume. We can hardly wonder that a critic already referred to should consider it, of all attempts to bolster up the crumbling fabric of Protestant belief, "the most able, the most earnest, and the most suicidal." In saying this, we have no wish to pass judgment on the writers. One is already removed beyond the censure of earthly tongues. Some, we believe, have been subjected to a wearying, worrying system of petty persecution, at the hands of those who have neither the courage to strike openly, nor the generosity to forbear from stabbing in the dark,—a line of conduct equally ineffectual to vindicate principle or to inspire respect. One of them has alluded to the subject in feeling language, which bears all the impress of painful experience. To him emphatically, and, in their measure, to the rest, we would apply, in all

* Faber's *Bethlehem*, p. 297.

sincerity, the words of the great orator : *Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses !* That their writings contain much that is both beautiful and true, we are very far from denying. It is no part, however, of our present business to refute their errors, or to draw the boundary-line between the falsehood and the truth which mingle in their work. That would be impossible within the narrow limits of a review. To commend the vigour of thought and luminous power of expression which all the Essays display, though in different degrees, would seem to those who have read them almost an impertinence. Our aim is rather to exhibit the character and probable results of their general teaching in relation to prevalent forms of opinion or belief. Did we ask whether the writers hold such doctrines as the Trinity, the Incarnation, or the Resurrection, which they seldom name except to suggest some new definition, or disparage some old one, we should probably be met by an indignant affirmative. But they would hardly deny that the terms convey to their minds a very different meaning from that put upon them by the great majority of Christians. That they do not believe in miracles, prophecy, inspiration, original sin, or eternal punishment, is not an inference from their statements, but a summary of them.

On the whole, this volume does not contain very much that is new in itself, but it contains a great deal that is new in its English dress. There is a story told of the late Bishop of London observing, at the close of an interview with a candidate for orders, "I trust, sir, you don't understand German?" It is sufficiently obvious that the Essayists possess that knowledge which Dr. Blomfield considered so objectionable, and that they are determined to give their countrymen the benefit of it. Never has the German sceptical theology of a certain school been put forward in so bold and so attractive a shape by Anglican divines. And we cannot doubt that here, as in Germany, it will gradually act as a solvent of the more definite forms of Protestant belief. And this is all the more important from the peculiarly practical and earnest character of the English people, and the circumstance that what in Germany might be a speculation of the select and studious few will here become the common property of the many who read and think. For ourselves, at all events, it is clear that we shall have to deal hereafter rather with the fundamental principles of Revelation than with the specialities of the Evangelical or Anglican creeds. And we do not regret that it should be so. It will demand of us a firmer grasp of ascertained principles, a wider range

of speculation, a nicer discrimination of what is essential and what is accidental, a more generous estimate of an adversary's position, and bolder proclamation of our own. While a controversy is mainly of detail, it is very apt to degenerate on both sides into special pleading, which may often be successful for the moment, but is always, as it deserves to be, suicidal in the long-run. It is more satisfactory to have to contend with those who deny a supernatural revelation altogether, but are ready to admit that, if there were any, the Catholic Church would be its depositary, than with those who split hairs over the *minutiae* of primitive or patristic theology, the exact sense in which the Fathers taught transubstantiation, or the earliest adducible evidence for the worship of our Lady.

We proceed to notice, more explicitly, the relations of the Essayists' teaching to the traditional principles of post-Reformation theology, and the popular religionism of the day.

We have already said that there are two main theories which have, under various modifications, found favour with English Protestants as explaining the grounds of their belief. We mean, the authority of the Bible, and the authority of a national Church. A few words shall be said on both; and, as the second can be dismissed more briefly, we will speak first of that. The theory in question, of which we find the earliest anticipations in Hooker, was finally elaborated by Laud, and the Caroline school of divines which followed him, and reached its political zenith under the wild torocracy of the Restoration, when, in duteous accordance with the royal and aristocratical parentage of his Church, "the right divine of kings to govern wrong" became almost an *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie* in the mind of the orthodox Anglican. It may be summed up much as follows. The Church, though not infallible, was designed to be an authority for the practical guidance of faith. But the Church of Rome, which embraced the greater portion of Christendom, having fallen into serious errors, could no longer discharge that office; while the communities which had elsewhere separated from her had lost all claim to be considered churches at all. Happily one city of refuge still remained, one Zoar in the wilderness, though it were but a little one, where the Catholic, who would not be a Romanist, might find a providential home. In the ordered ritual and primitive creed of Anglicanism was to be seen the nearest approach existing on earth to the Nicene and Patristic Church. For the usurped supremacy of the Pope, was substituted that of the English Sovereign, who could not directly arbitrate

on its doctrines, but supplied unity to its counsels and coherence to its outward frame. Here were preserved the apostolic succession, the two great sacraments, the power of the keys, the Catholic liturgy in the vernacular, the ancient form of ecclesiastical government. Here, in a word, to quote the oft-repeated language of its apologists, was found the perfect combination of "apostolical order and evangelical truth." Such a Church, it was thought, might challenge the criticisms of its opponents, and command the obedience of its children. We are not concerned now to discuss this theory of a Catholic, which is not the Roman, Church; to test it by Mr. Pattison's historical sketch, or Mr. Wilson's national ideal, is superfluous. It may be sufficiently refuted on the *solvitur ambulando* principle. The Essayists' reasonings do not indeed touch the claims of the Catholic Church; for they conceive nothing of that vivid electric spark of Divine grace which flashes in eternal miracle through the whole framework of her visible organisation, and is the true secret of her supernatural life. But a Church which loudly proclaims that it is not infallible, and as loudly asserts that it is never wrong; which professes to retain the order of priesthood, but scrupulously abstains from recognising orders as a sacrament; which claims the power of the keys, but has lost the practice of confession; which teaches the doctrine of the "real presence," but understands by that doctrine a something, it scarce knows what, that is not transubstantiation;—such a Church—and such is the Church of the Caroline theologians—is a paper system, and not a living fact. It may exist for the visionary or the bookworm, but it cannot act as a real power in the world.

Nor was this all. To a mutilated ritual the Anglican Reformers had added something worse than a mutilated creed. If the Prayer-book taught "with stammering lips" the old doctrine of priest and sacrament, there was a formula appended to the Prayer-book which taught, or seemed to teach, with inconvenient unreserve, the Lutheran theory of justification, and the Zwinglian explanation of sacramental grace. And thus from the very first the communion of Cranmer and Laud, like the eagle of Libyan fable, had borne within its bosom the weapons of its own destruction. Its enemies were not slow to taunt it with the ill-matched alliance of "Calvinistic Articles and an Arminian Liturgy," and to prophesy the inevitable result. It needed but the lapse of time for the dishonest compromise, which had sought to bind together two contradictory faiths under one external form, to recoil on the Church which

had adopted it; and what was intended to be the secret of her strength was proved to have sown the seeds of her slow but sure decay. Mr. Pattison has traced the downward course of Anglicanism through that dreary eighteenth century, the age of which Hoadley was the representative theologian, and Cornwallis the representative primate. Then came the great Evangelical revival, notable alike for the noble and earnest self-devotion which inaugurated its rise, and the unutterable feebleness which has marked its petulant and premature decline. And lastly came the attempt, which our own days have witnessed, to restore the Caroline theology without the political encumbrances which had hampered the Caroline school. Some thirty years ago, or less, the watchword was given from those same time-honoured cloisters where the Essayists now bear rule; and in every varied accent of authoritative or persuasive utterance,—in sermon, tract, and review, in sacred poem and pious tale,—the clergy and people of England were called to rally round the newly-illuminated altars of their ancestral Church. The result is fresh in the memory of all. We need not detail it here. That movement, too, has had its day. Jowett, and Temple, and Maurice, are the successors of Newman, and Manning, and Froude. The defence of “Anglo-Catholic” principles is left to the hot-brained enthusiasm of the few who are too young or too impatient to weigh the meaning of their own words, or the peevish tenacity of the few, who seem, alas, too old to relinquish, at whatever cost of refusal, the cherished convictions of a lifetime. For the rest, some have happily sought shelter where alone it could be really found. Not a few, seeing themselves placed on the horns of a dilemma, have fallen back on rationalism, since they would not accept the Church; while others have been content to retire from a hopeless contest, and acquiesce in the maxim of *quieta non movere* for their practical guidance. And thus the Caroline theology, and the attempted Tractarian revival of it, have done their work, and gone their way, and their place knows them no more. They have received from the Essayists a death-blow which was scarcely needed. Peace be with them! No Catholic need hesitate to acknowledge the services they have incidentally rendered to the Church, and no Protestant need be afraid they will ever be in a position to render such services again.

The other, and the more popular, conception of authoritative belief has found its watchword in the *dictum* of Chillingworth, “The Bible, and the Bible alone, the religion of Protestants.” That statement is of course untrue of at least nine-tenths of Protestants in every age. They too are constrained

to be guided by some authoritative interpreter, for the simple reason that it is impossible for them to do any thing else. The Protestant no less than the Catholic reads the Bible by the light of tradition; only, while the one follows a world-wide tradition, which he acknowledges as infallible and divine, the other is compelled to follow some accidental tradition of birth, or sect, or country, or favourite preacher, which he loudly denies to be other than fallible and human. As a popular Protestant writer, the late Sir J. Stephens, has observed, "If a lawyer, educated in this nineteenth century, should say he had gathered the whole scheme of the British constitution from the Statutes at Large, he would be quite as reasonable as a cotemporary divine who should persuade himself that he had deduced his creeds and systematic views of Christian doctrine from 'the Bible, and the Bible alone.'" We are concerned, however, at present more with the nature of the Protestant theory than the consistency of Protestant practice. That theory starts with three implied assumptions, of which all are about equally unreasonable: first, that the Bible can guarantee its own authenticity and inspiration;* secondly, that it can be its own interpreter, though we may ask, with the author just quoted, "What is that doctrine, what that ecclesiastical polity, what that system of moral obligation, in support of which the Bible is not confidently quoted by contending multitudes?" Thirdly, it assumes, in the absence of any Scriptural authority, and in the teeth of the apparent drift of several passages, and (as some of the Essayists have hinted) of the structure of the whole book, that the Bible contains a full and complete record of all revealed truth. We may wonder at first how so strange a theory can ever have obtained currency with plain and practical Englishmen. But the answer is obvious. The Bible never, in fact, challenged their assent on any such abstract plea. At a time when our language was in process of formation—in the age of Bacon, Shakespeare, and Hooker,—a select body of scholars, admirably qualified for their office, were employed during many years in translating the Old and New Testaments, and they achieved a work which has done much towards fixing both the religion and the literature of their country. The English Bible was published with the fullest weight both of royal and ecclesiastical sanction. It was authorised by the sovereign at a time when absolute prerogative was hardly questioned, and it formed an integral portion of the reformed church-service, which every one was compelled by law to attend. Men never thought of doubting what was

* We have actually heard an intelligent and highly-educated Protestant quote *πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος* in proof of the inspiration of the entire Bible!

put before them, not on the abstract claim of an ingenious theory, but as the accredited organ of the national religion, and the noblest monument of the national tongue. They had yet to learn, what the Essayists are telling them now, that its inspiration is on a par with that of "Luther and Milton," and that it has no evidence "adequate to guarantee narratives inherently incredible, or precepts evidently wrong."

We need not waste many words to show that the unwieldy fabric of "Bible Christianity" must fall *mole suâ* before the first assaults of discriminating biblical criticism. It has survived, though not unharmed, the conspicuous failure of the great Exeter-Hall *Propaganda* for the conversion of mankind; but it will hardly survive the blows of friendly critics who are determined to bring it to the test of reason and of common sense. Nor can it be forgotten that, if the Bible is to stand or fall by its own unaided strength, the lofty moral elevation of the general teaching of the Koran, and the high antiquity of great portions of the Vedas, which recent researches have tended conclusively to establish, may very seriously affect both the internal and external testimony urged in evidence of its claims. Certainly, *if*, in the face of unsparing criticism, and in the absence of any extrinsic authority, those claims are to be maintained, Dr. Temple has good reason for insisting "that the immediate work of our day is the study of the Bible." But those who have imbibed Essayistic principles can scarcely be expected to undertake a task at once so laborious, so unpromising, and so fruitless. We are neither opponents of biblical criticism, nor admirers of the narrow bibliolatry of the Evangelical school. But it is impossible not to see that the Protestantism of the nineteenth century is itself dethroning the idol which was exalted by the Protestantism of the sixteenth; and in destroying its idol is destroying its Christianity too. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur*. The assumed authority of the Protestant Bible, like the "baseless fabric" of a national Church, will yield, not to the assaults of open enemies, but to the "cruel kindness" of its own familiar friends. The religion of the "written Word" was designed to supersede the traditions of Christendom; but three centuries have sufficed to establish a religion which rejects it. The fathers of the Reformation elected to "eat sour grapes," and it is not to be wondered at if "the children's teeth are set on edge."

And meanwhile, what is the nature and measure of popular belief in England? What is the religion of our statesmen, our barristers, our medical students, our literary men, our more educated artisans? Do they really accept the

mysteries of revelation, or simply pass them by because they are not worth the trouble of refuting? It may not, indeed, be true to say of them, what Strauss in his latest publication has said of his own countrymen, that "no one believes any longer in any one of the miracles of the New Testament (to say nothing of those of the Old), from the miraculous Conception to the Ascension;" but we suspect the difference arises much more from the unspeculative temper of the English mind than from its greater faith. Let us take an instance to illustrate our meaning. There is one Christian doctrine so awful and momentous that to many minds it may well be the grand difficulty of revelation, in which yet it has been usual for English Protestants to profess an unhesitating belief,—partly, we cannot help thinking, from their carelessness in analysing the significance of their own creed; for while professing to find no serious difficulties in the dogma of eternal punishment, they have at the same time raised insuperable objections to the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, which is really far less startling to the reason. Be that as it may, the question of the eternity of punishment was mooted not many years ago by a clergyman of the Establishment universally respected for his talents and piety; and it then appeared, not only that the national mind, as represented by the press, had utterly and even fiercely rejected the doctrine, but that a considerable number of the Anglican clergy (we can hardly be wrong in classing the Essayists among them) went heart and soul with that rejection. We may safely say that the tenet of eternal punishment has become an "open question" among English Protestants, whether within or without the pale of the Establishment. The same might probably be said of original sin, or the personality of the evil spirit, only that these doctrines, not being felt to have so directly practical an application, have not been exposed to so searching a criticism, or met with so explicit a denial. We might go on; but we have perhaps said enough to indicate the normal attitude of one very large section of educated Englishmen towards revealed truth. To them the teaching of the Essays will be matter of indifference, except so far as it sanctions their previous disbelief by revealing the advance of a commendable scepticism in quarters where it might have been least expected.

Others, however, less worldly, or less versed in doubt, will be sore perplexed; and who shall minister to their perplexity when they learn from Mr. Pattison that "Authority, the Inward Light, Reason, Self-evidencing Scripture," have, each in its turn, been tried, and failed? Shall they accept the guidance

of the author of the *Leben Jesu*, and confine their adherence, for the future, to the "moral contents of Christianity"? Or shall they take refuge in Carlyle's "eternal silences"? Or fall back on the cheering suggestion of Emerson's last work, that he who finds the world within and the world without him a disappointment, should "rally in his relation to the universe *which his ruin benefits*"? To whom, or to what, shall they turn?

Dr. Vaughan, with an elaborate unconsciousness of the phenomena of thought and feeling around him, which looks almost like an affectation or a paradox, may inform his congregation from the pulpit of Doncaster that the Thirty-nine Articles, which have already borne the brunt of three centuries, are still sufficient to express the belief and equal to the emergencies of the day. And the *Times* may endorse that information with the sanction of its haughty patronage, and assure its readers that there is no real ground for disquiet. People will continue to learn the Anglican catechism without prying too curiously into the sense of the doctrines it contains, and to attend the Established worship without caring to scrutinise too nicely the origin or the nature of its ritual. They will eat, drink, sleep, be christened, married, and buried, as at other times, as though Rationalist essays and Tractarian sermons, Maurician neophytes and Catholic converts, were not.

There is a class of minds, no doubt, to whom *μηδὲν ἄγαν* is the one solution of the riddle of life, to whom any theory that comes in the name of a *via media* brings its own recommendation with it, and who consider the avoidance of extremes—that is, of any thing which notably differs from what they happen to be accustomed to—the secret of true wisdom. They practically do not believe there is any thing in heaven or earth undreamt of in their philosophy. Their idea of religion is a something which elevates the domestic affections and consecrates the respectabilities of social life; their idea of the divine omnipotence is that of a well-balanced constitutional monarchy. We are far from asserting that every one who adopts such a tone as we have referred to really means all this; still less, that he means it consciously. But we distinctly affirm that it is the only intelligible upshot of such views, and is the only key to that peculiar method of reasoning, most flexible yet most consistent, which gives shape and colour to the theological lucubrations of the *Times*. Persons who are so minded are little troubled by religious difficulties; they have never felt an "honest doubt" in their lives, not because their faith was too firmly rooted, but because it never

occurred to them to consider whether they had any faith at all. And the sceptical movement will only affect them so far as it must always be a discomfort to those who are not in earnest themselves to be reminded, from whatever quarter, that there are others who are more so.

There are those, again, and not a few, among our upper and middle classes who do not care enough about the matter to take any pains in ascertaining the nature or grounds of their belief. Theirs is not the affected indifference of the philosophic voluptuary, who "smiles unbelief, and shudders as he smiles;" for the element of *fear*, whether filial or slavish, is remarkably "conspicuous by its absence" from the religious temper of the day. They are perfectly sincere in their indifference; and, accordingly, they find it convenient enough to shape the articles of their variable creed by the Sibylline oracles of the *Times*, or the impartial Pyrrhonism of the *Saturday Review*. They are content to accept the Bible, if the Essayists tell them it is true; and content, again, to reject it, if a later critic assures them that, on the Essayists' principles, it must be false. For, after all, what does it matter? "There's nothing new, and there's nothing true, and it don't much signify."

But there are many notwithstanding, and those the more influential in the long-run, who are too logical, or too thoughtful, or too devout, to acquiesce in so poor an apology for a belief. And they, we may be sure, when once they have learnt to accept the Essayists' view of the contents of the Bible, will not be slow to reject their view of its authority, nor be willing to regard its study as "the immediate work of our day." Studied and admired, indeed, in one sense, it always must be. The grand old poetry of Isaias and Ezechiel, the rolling music of the Psalter, the rapturous ardour of the Canticles, the stern magnificence of Job, the homely and familiar wisdom of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes,—these will not readily be forgotten. Still less can the pure morality and touching pathos of the Gospel narrative, or the world-wide sympathy and heroic self-devotion of St. Paul, ever cease to be a household word among us. The book which contains all this will be studied, and admired, and loved, while intellect, or admiration, or affection remain on earth. But it will be prized as the collective record of human thought and experience, not as the depository of a Divine message. It will not be revered as the Word of God, but studied as the common literature of mankind. In saying this, we are not unmindful that the Catholic Church herself has never defined the exact nature and limits of that

inspiration in which, nevertheless, she bids her children to believe; and where she, in her wisdom, has been silent, it would ill become us to speak. We are, again, perfectly aware how much nature can accomplish in mimicry of grace, or in subjection to it. Mere earthly genius has before now been lifted into the *λαμπρὸς αἶθρη* of a region where it almost seemed to have caught the whispers of another and a higher world; and there have been books in the Church, the work of saintly men, such as the *De Imitatione*, to which a certain kind of inspiration has been sometimes ascribed. But that does not supersede the generic distinction she has ever recognised between the inspiration of Scripture and the inspiration, if we choose to call it so, of the grandest or the holiest of simply human writings. Neither have we forgotten, what the Neo-Protestant school are so fond of recalling to our memory in every form of language, that an "increasing purpose" runs through revelation too,—or, as the poet elsewhere expresses it, that "God fulfils Himself in many ways," in the economy both of nature and of grace. But it is at least equally clear that those "many ways" must be consistent both with each other and with Himself. The Hebrew prophets may have been commissioned to deliver truths on which the Hebrew legislators were silent or reserved; a "fuller law" may be revealed under the new dispensation than under the old. But that does not interfere with the direct transmission from patriarch to prophet, from prophet to evangelist, of one continuous revelation, passed, like the lights of a Greek torch-race, from hand to hand along the divinely-illuminated line; nor make it one whit less inconceivable that God should ever have spoken what is false, or sanctioned what is wrong. Men will never believe—least of all Englishmen, who pride themselves on their strong common sense—that a history full of blunders, prophecies mainly descriptive of contemporaneous events, a theology which revolts the intellect, and a morality which outrages the conscience, are the component parts of a revelation which comes from heaven. They may revere the book for its hoar antiquity, or be kindled to enthusiasm by its glorious poetry, or melted by its depth of human tenderness. But when one Essayist disparages the received date and authorship of the "three first Gospels," and denies to the Apostles and Evangelists any "inward gift" which could "free them from error and infirmity;" and another insists that the fourth Gospel "cannot by external evidence be attached to the person of St. John as its author," and that "previous to the time of the divided monarchy, the Jewish history presents little which is thoroughly

reliable;” while three of them explicitly reject the Second Epistle of St. Peter,—their readers will feel that the claim of the Bible to be other than a human composition is tacitly abandoned. We are not, it is true, a speculative people. Englishmen are not always consistent in their premises, or logical in the deductions they draw from them; they care more for practical details than for abstract principles, and are sometimes quite capable of holding two contradictories, if they are not compelled to reflect on both of them together. But none the less, or rather all the more, will they jump at once to the obvious conclusion,—which it requires small learning to be able to assert, and would show little common sense to deny,—that a book which is full of lies is not the revelation of the God of Truth.

Where, then, is the champion to grapple with this new phase of Rationalism, which speaks from the chairs of the Universities and the pulpits of the Establishment? For what a competent witness* has said of Oxford is true also of England,—that is, of the upper and middle classes,—that it is “honeycombed with disbelief.” The old forms of Protestantism, Anglican or Nonconformist, shrink from the unequal contest with a foe they dare not meet, and are daily less able to elude. And we cannot doubt that the Neo-Protestant movement will sooner or later be compelled to succumb to a mightier than itself, which it may have served to develop, but will be unable to conciliate or to check. If the sketch we have given of the religious condition of England be thought unreal or excessive, we may be permitted to illustrate it by the language of a writer whose testimony on such a subject has the more weight from the known intensity of his Protestant convictions, and his undisguised hostility to the Catholic Church. In the last volume of his *Modern Painters*, Mr. Ruskin has occasion, when comparing Turner and Giorgione, to contrast the religion of Catholic Venice with the religion of Protestant London. Of the former he says—and our readers will recollect they are the words of a bitter adversary—that it is

“On the whole; always a real and great power; served with daily

* See *Westminster Review* for October 1860: “Neo-Christianity.” Since writing the above, we observe the *Saturday Review* for February 2 takes the *Westminster* reviewer severely to task for his account of the condition of Oxford. A Protestant writer is of course more likely than ourselves to have opportunities of knowing its present state. But from what we knew of it not very long ago, and from what we have since heard, we should certainly incline to think the *Westminster* was substantially correct. In saying this we must of course be understood as referring solely to the question of *fact* at issue between the two writers, and not to their treatment of the facts.

sacrifice of gold, and time, and thought ; putting forth its claims, if hypocritically, at least in bold hypocrisy, *not waving any atom of them in doubt or fear* ; and, assuredly in large measure sincere, believing in itself, and believed ; a goodly system moreover in aspect ; gorgeous, harmonious, mysterious ; a thing which had either to be obeyed or combated, *but could not be scorned.*"

So much for the one picture. Turn now to the other, and take his description of the religion which is his own. We give it entire, italicising in either passage what appear to us its most distinctive points.

" For the rest, this religion seems to him discreditable, discredited, *not believing in itself*,—putting forth its authority in a cowardly way, watching how far it might be tolerated, continually shirking, disclaiming, fencing, finessing ; divided against itself, not by stormy rents, but by thin fissures and splittings of plaster from the walls. Not to be either obeyed or combated by an ignorant yet clear-sighted youth ; *only to be scorned.* And scorned not one whit the less, though also the dome dedicated to *it* looms high over distant windings of the Thames, as St. Mark's campanile rose, for goodly landmark, over mirage of lagoon. For St. Mark ruled over life, the Saint of London over death ; St. Mark over St. Mark's Place, but St. Paul over St. Paul's Churchyard."

That is, the one is strong in the consciousness of a divine commission ; the other misdoubts its message and mistrusts its claims. And, as a consequence of this, the one has power over earnest wills, the other over empty words ; the one is a church of the living, and the other a charnel-house of the dead.

Mr. Ruskin's contrast points indirectly to a critical distinction between even the scepticism of Catholic and Protestant countries, and thus enables us to complete our picture of the religious condition of our own. However widely infidel principles may have spread in a Catholic country, they seldom penetrate beneath the upper strata of society. To the poor the Gospel is still preached, and they still gladly receive it. It is the universal testimony of unwilling witnesses that the faith of the *poor* is still untouched in Italy ; and we have the authority of one of the most experienced of living missionaries for saying, that religion is more faithfully followed in Catholic Germany than in Italy, France, or Belgium. But with the English poor the case is very different. Protestantism, at its best estate, is too shadowy and evanescent a thing to gain any hold on their hearts, except by the aid of association or personal influence. And therefore the scepticism of a Protestant country must in the end filtrate through

the whole mass of the population. When the religious influence of their betters is withdrawn or turned the other way, the faith of the English poor must wither too, because it has taken no root in them. They battled long and manfully three centuries ago against the godless work of the Reformation, when they saw the crucifix torn from their homesteads, and the rosary snatched from their children's hands; for they were fighting the battles of a faith they knew and loved. But the work was done, and done thoroughly, and its fruits abide to this day. The people, rudely thrust from shrift and sacrifice, were compelled to attend a worship, whose special boast it is that only an educated intellect can appreciate its "masculine simplicity." In process of time a generation grew up who knew not Mass nor the name of Mary, or only knew to hate them. From that day faith has ceased to be an instinct in the hearts of the English poor. Some dim tradition, the inheritance of a bygone age, may still linger here and there in quiet village or sequestered nook; but, for the most part, they are dependent for such loose and hazy notions of religion as they have on the variable teaching of their Anglican or Dissenting guides. We often find among them a patience and resignation under suffering, and a quiet trust in God, which, we may hope, are accepted with Him, but which have little reference to any distinctively Christian belief. To them at least the Essayists have no Gospel to preach, though they must soon lose what traces of the Gospel they still retain, if no stronger than the Neo-Protestant theology can be found to arrest the sceptical movement of the age. The devout Anglican, who has gone to church to receive what he calls "the Sacrament," may perhaps submit to be told from the pulpit that the whole doctrine of sacramental grace is a relic of the exploded mediæval notion of "occult magical influences;" and the pious Evangelical, who makes the Atonement the centre-point of his religion, may listen with silent indignation to a warning from the same sacred tribunal against that horrible fiction of "an angry God." But when the poor are openly taught that, in reading Isaias, they must no longer refer the "Messianic prophecies" to the Messiah, and are bidden to remember, in reading the Gospels, that the date, the authorship, and the accuracy of the narrative, are alike uncertain,—there is clearly small external guarantee for the maintenance or the increase of their Christian faith.

If, then, the view we have taken of the transition-state through which English Protestantism is now passing be correct, we may be allowed, before concluding, to point out very briefly the obvious moral it suggests, both to ourselves as

Catholics, and to those who are outside the pale of the Church. And first, as regards ourselves. There are many, both old Catholics and converts, especially perhaps the former, who are disposed to look on the Anglican Establishment rather as the unconscious ally than the open enemy of the cause of truth; as a kind of external buttress of the English Church, which it might be dangerous to remove. Considering that the question is one rather of mislikings than likings (to adopt the language of a popular novelist), they dislike Anglicanism less than any thing that might be expected to take its place; they are ready to recognise what they cannot profess to respect, and, for the sake of services rendered in the past, and possible services in the future, would be something more than willing to "spare the meek usurper's hoary head," were it possible to do so. In illustration of this view, they would urge that the Establishment had acted as a check on the anarchy of the sixteenth century, and had repulsed the deism of the eighteenth; that, even to our own day, it has conserved in the popular mind some show of outward respect for the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and sacramental grace; and they would point to the Tractarian movement in proof that it had been an assistance to the restoration of Catholicism in England. There is much, certainly, to be said in favour of such a view. We are not going to discuss it here. We neither endorse nor reject it. But we are anxious to insist on what appears to us to be growing clearer every day, that, whatever accidental services Anglicanism may have rendered hitherto as an unwilling pioneer of the messenger of the Gospel, those services are rapidly drawing to a close. Whether we wish for them or not, it would be idle, and worse than idle, to blink the fact that we cannot reckon on their continuance. We say this in no spirit of bitterness, or exultation, or contempt. There is indeed a consolation in the feeling of conscious security with which we gaze from the towers of that City, whose "foundations are on the holy mountains," on the seething waters that rage around their base; but we cannot (God forbid!) look down with the sublime selfishness of Epicurean indifference on the victims who are struggling in the death-gripe of the angry flood. The *suave mari magno* feeling is no counsel of Christian perfection. It is truly a strange and solemn thing to see a religious communion, in wealth, in social prestige, in political influence, in every human element of power, unrivalled among the sects or Churches of Christendom,—a communion venerable with the accumulated traditions of the three most eventful centuries of

English history, hallowed by the strong spell of countless associations, which it seems a sacrilege and is always an agony to break through, and dowered by the loyal affection of countless hearts which deserved a truer and a nobler love;—it is, we repeat, a strange and solemn thing to see such a communion crumbling to its fall, under no external pressure, but by the mere action of its own inherent weakness; with no enemy to strike the blow, and amid the sorrowful bewilderment of those who tried to trust, and still are fain to love it. We need not breathe one syllable to exaggerate that sorrow, or lift one finger to accelerate that fall. *Fecit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.* There is something too strange, too solemn, too judicial about the process for human hands to make or mar. We can but watch in trembling eagerness the gradual evolution of a tragedy we did not inaugurate, and prepare, as best we may, to reap the fruits of a harvest we have not sown. Only let us *be* prepared when the crisis comes. When the crowds are driven forth into the wilderness to seek for a prophet, let the true Prophet's voice be uplifted loud and clear, to call the wanderers to their rightful home.

And now, lastly, let us say a word to those Protestants, if any such should cast an eye on these pages, who are looking with perplexity or dismay on the state of their own religion, but are unable to recognise in ours that resting-place which their spirits crave. They will tell us, perhaps, that, if unbelief is spread widely in their own communion, it is not less widely felt, but less openly confessed, among Catholics; that the sincerity of faith is failing every where; that France is unblushingly atheistic, and Italy, as recent events have notoriously proved, honeycombed with secret infidelity. Possibly they may add, what we were amazed not long since to hear gravely maintained by an intelligent Anglican minister, that "Romanism can only hold its ground where the policeman and the inquisitor are the allies of the priest!" To go no further, it would be sufficient to point to English, Irish, Prussian, or American Catholicism, in refutation of so palpable a mistake. But we are rather concerned now to insist on the generic difference between the two classes of phenomena—the scepticism which is sapping the foundations of Protestantism, and that which assails the doctrines of the Catholic Church: for in this distinction lies the real gist of the question. There is no prophecy that in the latter days faith shall not be diminished from the earth, or the charity of many wax cold; but there is a promise that the Church shall never fail. Now the very point we have all along been

insisting on, with especial reference to England, is, that the sceptical movement in Protestant countries is not so much attacking the Protestant sects, established or unestablished, as interpenetrating them gradually with its own spirit, and that they can oppose no barrier to its entrance. What Professor Jowett says, without qualification, is true of the present condition of most Protestant bodies,—that their “lines of demarcation seem to be political rather than religious; they are differences of nations, or governments, or ranks of society, more than of creeds or forms of faith.” Therefore they are powerless to resist new phases of belief. But no one can seriously maintain this of the Church. It is not conceivable that the teaching of *Essays and Reviews*, for instance, should have emanated from Catholic universities, or been promulgated from Catholic pulpits. Infidelity may be growing, secretly or openly, in Catholic countries; but her bitterest enemies would be the last to accuse the Church of any disposition to meet its advances half-way, or to assimilate its spirit. Their worst charge against her is, what they term her inflexible obstinacy; and their special grievance, that the poor still hear her gladly. Though she may be called to “prophesy in sackcloth,” she still remains, what she has ever been, the one Prophet of God, who will neither hush her voice, nor modulate its tones, in deference to the fitful passions or changing opinions of men. And this, which is the crowning evidence of her divine authority, may prove, as it has proved before, the instrument of her earthly suffering or humiliation, but never of her fall. She will be a match for the scepticism of the nineteenth century, as she was for the scepticism of the tenth; and, as she triumphed over the first reformation of Luther, she need not quail before a second reformation now, when, from the very homes and strongholds of heresy, she is daily reclaiming her lost heritage of souls. What the Roman poet said of his country is in her history preëminently fulfilled: *Merses profundo pulchrior evenit*. We cannot, indeed, predict what future may await us. It is no business of ours to raise the veil which hangs in merciful obscurity over the destinies of the Church on earth. We do but know, and her enemies know it too, that, come what may, she will ever be equal to the emergency, and, in the words of an author dear to English Catholics, is “more at home in a catacomb than in a concordat.” Her faith will still remain, unchanged and unchangeable, for it is founded on a Rock, and beneath are the everlasting Arms.

It is idle, then, and worse than idle, to stake the issue on

such points as the political condition of the "Roman question," or the fortunes of the Neapolitan Bourbons; to discuss the chivalry of Garibaldi, or the diplomacy of Cavour; the open atheism of France, or the smouldering scepticism of Piedmont. Such questions have their place and their importance, and are neither to be settled by shallow dogmatism or paltry sneers. But they are simply irrelevant here. Neither is it more to the purpose to enter on a minute examination of the details of Catholic faith or worship; to complain with some that "Mariolatry" is excessive in Italy, or Madonnas are draped ungracefully in Belgium; that we say the rosary too often and the Mass too fast; or to ask with others, who profess a deeper insight, if we do not think too much of scapulars and too little of sermons, if the Decalogue be not unequally distributed in our catechisms, and the thought of Indulgences too familiarly mingled with our prayers? Such questions, and a hundred like them, often hotly urged, and more than abundantly answered, are at best but the plaything of the trifler, or the plea of the hypocrite. Life is too short and truth too important for endless hair-splittings. There is a deeper reality, underlying the din of controversy, unheeded, it may be, amid the strife of tongues, but which, in their secret souls, the noisiest controversialists are sometimes constrained to feel. And the present transitional phase of religious belief in England is rapidly forcing matters to a simpler issue, which every man who *thinks* will sooner or later be compelled to face for himself. We make no apology for stating that simple issue in the simplest words; though we can but indicate its nature without proceeding to develop it here. Either there is, or is not, a message from Heaven; and a message implies a messenger. Either the Bible is a venerable collection of uninspired fables, or the Word of God is spoken to-day from the Vatican.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHARITABLE TRUSTS.*

THE irresistible course of events brings English Catholics into closer connection with the civil power. This is an inevitable consequence of Emancipation. When Catholics ceased to be persecuted, they became at once citizens who were certain

* *The Acts for the better Regulation of Charitable Trusts, with Notes and an Introduction.* By W. F. Finlason, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Stevens, 1855.
A Brief and Practical Exposition of the Law of Charitable Trusts. By W. F. Finlason, Esq. Stevens, 1860.

gradually to regain their rights, and to advance step by step to that position, whatever it may be, which their numbers, reputation, and abilities entitle them to occupy. Proofs occur readily to the mind. To take only English examples, we have seen since 1829 the recognition of Catholic chapel and school property, the legalisation of Catholic marriages performed in presence of a civil officer, the admission of Catholic schools to a share in the parliamentary grant for education, the adoption of Catholic agency in the reformation of juvenile criminals, and the appointment of Catholic chaplains to her Majesty's forces, with military rank and pay. Every current has its backwater. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act, passed in a season of national frenzy, is only contemptible because its provisions contradict the spirit of the age; while, on the other side, the opposition which menaced the Royal Commission on Education was an anachronism contrary to the interests and to the general practice of the Church. It is remarkable that all the efforts to advance exhibited amongst us are characterised by the same tendency towards closer relations with the constituted authorities of the country; and at the last general election the Catholic body was seriously pressed, quite apart from political conviction, to join the Tory party on the plea that Lord Derby would grant a charter to a Catholic University, and nominate salaried chaplains to workhouses and gaols. Even independent opposition drifts with the tide.

But all approximations, past or prospective, towards what is in its limit the union of Church and State, shrink into insignificance when compared with the imminent consequences of the application to Catholic charities of the Charitable Trusts Acts. The public is greatly indebted to Mr. Finlason for the learned labour bestowed upon his editions of these Acts, of which we propose, with his help, to give some account.

The Roman Catholic Charities Bill, though originally introduced with the concurrence of ecclesiastical authority, encountered, in the shape which it eventually took, some vigorous opposition in the House of Commons, and was even threatened in the Lords'. It was the first clause, and that only, to which opposition was raised, for, as was urged, that clause, if passed, would give legislative sanction for the first time to certain decisions of the judges respecting superstitious uses, which were held by eminent lawyers to be unsound and erroneous, and which there was reason to hope might be overruled if again brought before the courts. Fears on this head were allayed by the very positive declarations of the Lord Chancellor. "The present Bill," he stated upon the third reading,

“would not in the slightest degree affect the question of superstitious uses. It had been solemnly determined by the Judicial Committee, in a judgment pronounced by Sir Herbert Jenner, one of our ablest judges, that there was no ground for saying that prayers for the dead were to be regarded as superstitious uses. To maintain that the building of a Roman Catholic church or chapel might be construed to be a superstitious use, because prayers for the dead were to be put up there, was absurd and extravagant. The Roman Catholics ought to be satisfied with the Bill, for it did all that could reasonably be expected for their benefit.” With this emphatic dictum, and an equally positive declaration of the Attorney-General in its favour, the Bill was passed.

There is not reasonable ground to anticipate that the working of the Act will inflict practical injury, or innovate upon the recognised customs of pious Catholics. The internal regulations of charities will be left in the hands of the Bishops without interference, while the property will be legally secured. In case of a bequest for pious uses disputed by the heir on the ground of superstition, the first clause of the Act would operate, and, while invalidating the condition of Masses, would confirm the fund for the support of the priest, who, though civilly free, would of course remain bound by canon law to carry out the testator's intention. For the Charity Commissioners to refuse to inquire when and where and by whom the Masses are said, is no practical wrong. The ordinary, as before, will take cognisance of those spiritual matters without interference from commissioners or courts. If the temporal power establishes gifts to priests and for other religious and charitable purposes, no more need be asked of it. The spiritual power will see to the rest. No desire is manifested, or can be supposed to exist, of meddling with the universal practice of exchanging temporal and spiritual benefits. “*Si spiritualium eorum participes facti sunt, debent et in carnalibus ministrare illis,*” says St. Paul; and the church, while absolutely forbidding “*ne cuidam pro aliqua pecunia denegetur sepultura vel baptismus vel aliquod sacramentum ecclesiasticum,*” adds, “*si quid pia devotione fidelium consuetum fuerit erogari, volumus per ordinarium loci ecclesiis justitiam fieri.*”

Of the fundamental questions, indeed, which lie at the root of the matter no mention is made by Mr. Finlason, who probably assumes, with all lawyers and moralists, that dispositions by will and rules of inheritance and succession rest upon no right of natural law, but are merely constitutions of society, which the civil and municipal laws in all respects justly

regulate. Tradition has preserved the memory of the last testament of Noe, whereby, in writing and under his seal, he disposed of the whole world; and those who imagine that a possessor of property (for if *any* possessor, then certainly the *first* possessor) has by natural law perpetual dominion over it, should certainly be prepared to prove their title under this ancient document. The reasonable portion of mankind will be content to regard the right to dispose of property after death as the creature of positive law, variable at the will of those who have power to make the law, in accordance with the varying interests of society. Now the English law abhors perpetuities. It will not tolerate them in the case of private families; and where the Legislature has for special reasons violated this principle of law, such results may be anticipated as were exhibited in the doubts, litigation, and wrong of the great Shrewsbury case. For the good of society, however, and in the interest of the poor and helpless classes, the law has accorded perpetuity to charitable trusts, and has enabled the owners of property to do for the relief of distress, or for the education of the young, or for the support of religion, that which it denies him the power to do for his children and descendants. For his own family, he can but settle his property upon those who are alive with him, and for twenty-one years longer. His dominion then ceases, and his testament takes no further effect. The same property which he cannot settle upon his own for more than a limited period, he may bequeath to pious uses for ever. And the reason of the distinction is plain. For while it is contrary to the interests of society that the inheritance to property should reside indefeasibly in a certain family, the alleviation of distress, the education of children, and the propagation of religion, will as long as the world lasts confer benefit upon mankind. Naturally, then, dominion ceases at the instant of death; but the law, for sound reasons, prolongs it, and under certain special circumstances even makes it perpetual.

In the early ages of British history, it is said that no traces can be found of charitable trusts. From the introduction of Christianity there was, of course, a general obligation incumbent upon all ecclesiastical persons to devote the surplus revenues of Church-lands to pious uses; but it was left to spiritual superiors to enforce the obligation without interference of the temporal courts. In the time of Edward I. a statute was passed which enacted that, upon violation of the religious trusts attached by the donor to a gift of land, the lands should revert to him or his heirs; and thus the courts of common law began to enforce the fulfilment of such trusts,

under pain of forfeiture of the trust-property. About the same time arose the practice of binding ecclesiastical persons by covenant or deed to perform specified religious services; and though the service was spiritual, the breach of such covenant rendered the parties liable to an action at law, and many actions of the kind are recorded in the books from the time of Henry IV. But even here the ecclesiastical courts had a concurrent jurisdiction. It must be remembered that, as is still the case with the ecclesiastical authorities of the Established Church, all parish priests, bishops, chapters, and abbots constituted corporations capable of holding property in succession; and before the change of religion they were subject only to spiritual control. The king, as *parens patriæ*, possessed the right of visitation; but charities, like the estates of intestates, were left to the administration of bishops, presumably men of more enlightened conscience and stricter integrity than any other class. Henry VIII. confiscated to the Crown all lands of chapels, chantries, and guilds, which had been by license incorporated and made to have a perpetual continuance for ever; and a statute of Edward VI. gave authority to assign such lands to continue in succession for a preacher or schoolmaster for ever, or to stipendiary priests, if necessary, or to make assignments of moneys to be paid to poor people for ever. Thus the dissolution of monasteries did not necessarily involve the ruin of other institutions simply charitable. The design was, indeed, to retain the ancient schools, hospitals, and almshouses; and the wants of the people, driven to distress by the suppression of religious houses, soon induced the Legislature to encourage the foundation of new institutions of the same character. "Divers well-disposed and charitable persons," recites an Act of 1572, "have given lands, to the relief and sustentation of the poor in hospitals; and it is hoped that many more will hereafter likewise charitably give." And twenty-five years later another Act sanctioned the incorporation of hospitals, maisons de Dieu, almshouses, and the like, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain. It is at this point that the history of charitable trusts in strictness begins; for these institutions and their endowments were no longer held on the ancient tenure, *in liberam cleemosynam*, or *frankalmoigne*, subject only to ecclesiastical supervision, but henceforward became trusts within the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, which, however, proved inefficient to control them. Not that the grand principle of the Court was erroneous, or in any way opposed to the dictates of religion. If the purpose was lawful and the trust explicit, it must be performed, whatever may be its consequences. The Court would sanction no de-

parture from the will of the testator. The same principle runs through the canon law, and received its latest recognition at the Second Provincial Council of Westminster, in 1855: "Property contributed by the faithful for the propagation or dignity of religion, support of the clergy, relief of the poor, and other pious uses, must be considered as given to God and the Church. Administrators and managers, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, are to be accounted merely stewards, who will themselves have to render account to God. Every effort, therefore, must be made, in case of doubt, to determine the intention and mind of the donor or testator of any fund, and to apply the income from it with the greatest exactness to the use prescribed by him." This is the very language of Chancery: "The duty of the Court is to carry into effect the trusts of the testator's will. With reasons for change we have nothing to do. The Court can give no relief. If you want to alter the trusts, get an Act of Parliament." But just, and wise, and powerful, as was the Court of Chancery, recourse to its aid was, in effect, ruin for a small charity, and serious loss to a rich one. Its expensive and dilatory processes, its rules of evidence, and its centralisation, rendered it most unsuitable to be the only remedy for stopping the robbery, waste, or misapplication of a charitable fund. Hence sprung the practice of issuing charitable commissions, at first only to visit corporations of royal foundations, but subsequently without any such restriction. An "Act to reforme deceits and breaches of trust touching lands given to charitable uses" was passed with this object in the 39th year of Elizabeth's reign, and after a trial of four years was repealed, to make way for the larger powers of the celebrated Statute of Charitable Uses. The principle of the law of the Church and the common law of the land was adhered to, that charitable trusts ought to be administered duly and faithfully according to the intent of the donors and founders, and their directions religiously observed. The preamble of this Act has always been considered to afford the legal definition of such charities as the courts will recognise, and therefore deserves to be quoted: "Whereas lands, tenements, rents, goods, and services, have been heretofore given for relief of aged, impotent, and poor people, for maintenance of schools and of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities, for repairs of churches, for education and preferment of orphans, for marriages of poor maids, for support of young tradesmen, artisans, and persons decayed, which lands have not been employed according to the charitable intent of the givers and founders thereof, by reason of frauds, breaches of trust, and negligence

in those that should pay and employ the same." Such were the eleemosynary foundations recognised, and such the abuses which called for interference. The remedy provided was, for the Lord Chancellor to issue commissions under the great seal to the bishop of every diocese and his chancellor, and to other persons of good and sound behaviour, authorising them to inquire into charitable gifts and abuses of trust, to make decrees in consonance with the intention of donors, and to certify them into the Court of Chancery, which would take such order for the due execution thereof as should seem convenient. Originally it was held that a gift to maintain a chaplain or minister to celebrate divine service was within neither the meaning nor the letter of the Act; but subsequently such gifts were recognised and established as lawful charitable trusts, and they must be taken as included in the enumeration of the preamble. For 150 years the statute of Elizabeth acted beneficially for charities, by compelling restitution, modifying literal and specific directions in favour of the general and substantial intention, and restraining misappropriation or maladministration. The working of the Act, in fine, became too favourable to charities; for the commissioners took power under it to supply defects in title, and to uphold a devise void at common law, or by the Statute of Wills, freeing the donor of property for religious uses from the observance of any legal forms. An interpretation so exceptional was necessarily displeasing to the courts, and the adoption of the modern Mortmain Act, in 1736, effectually extinguished it, and rendered the issue of charitable commissions more and more unusual, until the entire jurisdiction reverted to the Court of Chancery. The Act 9 Geo. II. c. 36, which has been generally, but incorrectly, designated the Mortmain Act, prohibits the alienation of land or real property for charitable purposes, except by deed executed twelve months, and enrolled six months, before the donor's death. No commission could any longer give effect to a donation of land not so executed and enrolled; and as defects of title on this ground were very general, the Act of Elizabeth fell into desuetude, and became obsolete. The cumbrous and expensive machinery of Chancery was ill adapted to meet the cases brought before it, where trustees were charged with malversation, or charged others with misappropriation, or wished to obtain the direction of a court of equity in the due performance of their trust. Efforts were again made to supply a remedy. Relief by the more speedy and economical method of petition, instead of bill or information, was given by Sir S. Romilly's Act; and all charities and charitable donations, for the benefit of any poor or

other persons, were ordered in another Act to be registered. Defalcations, however, were not checked, and a new tribunal of inquisition was demanded. Accordingly, under different Acts, from 1818 to 1837, four commissions were appointed to inquire into and investigate the amount, nature, and application of all estates or funds designed for the support of any charities or charitable donations, or held under any trusts created for charitable uses or purposes, and all breaches of trust, abuses, or irregularities in their application. The commissioners were empowered to certify to the Attorney-General any cases calling for the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and with their consent trustees were authorised to petition that court for relief and direction. These commissioners numbered 14 in 1818, were increased to 20 in 1819, and again to 30 in 1835. They sat continuously with only two intervals, and presented to Parliament reports which fill thirty-eight folio volumes, and disclose innumerable cases of abuse and breach of trust. They ascertained that 442,915 acres of land, mostly in the neighbourhood of towns, belonged to the charities, of which the value is estimated at 44,000,000*l.* Houses and their sites not included are supposed to number 63,000, and to be worth 12,000,000*l.* more. The value of personal property, mortgages, turnpike-bonds, and stock in the public securities, was reported to amount to 6,668,527*l.*; and since charitable foundations having visitors, and Jewish and Roman Catholic charities, were expressly exempted from the commissioners' inquiries, the total value of charitable property may be safely reckoned at not less than 75,000,000*l.* The whole number of charities reported on was 28,840, which in 1849 were grouped according to their income :

Charities the income of which do not amount to 5 <i>l.</i> per annum	13,331
Amounting to 5 <i>l.</i> and under 10 <i>l.</i>	4,641
" 10 " 20 . . .	3,908
" 20 " 30 . . .	1,866
" 30 " 50 . . .	1,799
" 50 " 100 . . .	1,540
" 100 " 500 . . .	1,417
" 500 " 1000 . . .	209
" 1000 " 2000 . . .	73
" 2000 and upwards	56

The aggregate income of the charities included in these nine classes has been stated to be,—of the first class, 58,147*l.*; of the second, 51,694*l.*; of the third, 43,400*l.*; of the fourth, 67,209*l.*; of the fifth, 105,490*l.*; of the sixth, 241,090*l.*; of the seventh, 143,896*l.*; of the eighth, 99,364*l.*; and of the

ninth, 347,835*l.* The richest of them enjoys an income of 39,297*l.* per annum—a revenue large enough to create a sensation in the Petty-Bag Office, which was the old home of charities in the Court of Chancery. The peculiar dangers which environed charitable endowments—and the smaller ones even more menacingly than those of greater wealth—were of the following kinds. Many bequests consisted of rent-charges which, by neglect or abuse, fell into disuse, were resisted by new or old proprietors, and could only be sustained at ruinous expense. Investments in the public funds cannot, in the Bank of England, be entered in more than four names; new appointments of trustees are not made when required; the survivor takes all, and dies; he may have removed from the district, leaving no trace behind, or he may have died in poverty, without any known representative; while living he may embezzle if dishonest, or if scrupulous, he may resist a transfer to new trustees without legal formalities; when dead, he bequeaths infinite trouble and great loss. Houses held for charities generally fall into disrepair and deteriorate in value, and tenants have often usurped the property. High rates of interest, or other motives, have induced ignorant or incapable trustees to accept insufficient security, and to leave charitable funds in the hands of private individuals, whence in the lapse of time they are sure to disappear. Abuses so flagrant, affecting an enormous aggregate of property devoted to the public good, called aloud for remedial measures. Power, too, was wanted to modify trusts where plainly irrational. An instance is related of a tobaccoist who left a field in trust to supply six poor women with snuff at Barthelemy-tide. The field became building-land, and produced a very large rental. Can it be expected that the law should violate the principles of public policy, and create in favour of the worthy deceased a perpetual dominion over land, which God has given to the living children of men, in order that half a dozen old women may be encouraged to destroy themselves by excessive snuff-taking on a saint's day? Yet it was laid down by Mr. Senior, who, as Master in Chancery, had the best opportunity of forming a judgment, that the instant a charity not exceeding 30*l.* a year becomes the subject of a suit, it is gone. One of 60*l.* a year is reduced one-half; one of 100*l.* a year one-third. So that the vast expense, with which a concurrence of circumstances loads all suitors in Chancery, practically incapacitates that court for curing abuses in the administration of charitable funds. Strange to say, it was Ireland which first obtained a remedy for the grievance, as she has been before England in getting

rid of turnpikes. In 1844 a board of commissioners was established for the more effectual application of charitable donations and bequests in that country, but in the same year Lord Lyndhurst failed to carry for England a measure of similar import. Bills were introduced by the same illustrious lawyer in 1845 and 1846, and by Lord Cottenham in 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850; but they failed to pass into law. Another attempt was made in 1852, and at length in 1853 an Act for the better Administration of Charitable Trusts was actually adopted.

Before considering the provisions of this Act, and the modifications it has subsequently undergone, which form the existing law, it is desirable to investigate the position of Catholic charities.

At the Reformation the Catholic Church lost all. Lands and endowments heretofore devoted to religious uses, were either confiscated to the Crown or transferred to preachers of the new doctrine; while over educational or eleemosynary foundations still preserved Catholics were debarred from exercising any interference or control. They had their work to begin anew, and to carry it forward in spite of the harshest persecuting laws. Not only did they lose all possession and influence in respect to ancient charities, but the uses of the Catholic religion were declared illegal, and every obstacle was thrown in the way of new endowments. In many cases the charities themselves had been erected into corporations for the purpose of securing perpetuity, and where this could not be done, bodies already incorporated were commonly made trustees of charitable funds; and thus municipal corporations and the old City companies became possessed of enormous estates upon charitable trusts. An example of the security gained by transferring property to corporations, and at the same time of the impolicy of legalising such transfers, may be seen in the north of Ireland, where, in the time of James I., 2,000,000 acres of land were vested in the Irish Society and London Companies, who hold them to this day as a means of supporting the Scotch colony, and reducing the native Catholics to the condition of helots in their own land. To terminate the iniquity of this impolitic tenure, and obtain alienation by sale of the Ulster lands, would be an object worthy of the active exertions of practical reformers in Ireland. No advantages, however, of this kind were now enjoyed by Catholics. They had neither charities nor corporations to hold them. No ecclesiastical persons amongst them could take in perpetual succession. What new funds they acquired were held by private individuals, in opposition to law, and

were therefore kept secret. The persons selected would be priests, who, though actuated by pure motives, form, as a class, bad trustees for such purposes, since they often spring from obscure families in remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland, are generally unacquainted with pecuniary and legal business, and always die without rightful heirs of their body. They are, therefore, peculiarly liable to fall into errors of maladministration without any suspicion of ill intent, and to leave behind them no known or accessible representative fitted for the discharge of charitable trusts.

Difficulties of the most formidable kind could not repress the piety of Catholics. A system of secret trusts for the support of the religious worship of Popish recusants—such was the odious title of Catholics under the penal laws—sprang up during the reign of Elizabeth. All indication of an ecclesiastical purpose with regard to property was suppressed, since any expressed intention would have invalidated the gift. Any attempt to secure permanence would be enough to indicate a trust; nor would personal friendship, or the relation of penitent and confessor, explain an absolute gift to an ecclesiastic. Gifts to priests or prelates are regarded by Roman law as trusts for religious purposes, and the English law coincides in the same view. But in those evil days no disclosure of trusts was possible. At a time when Popish bishops, priests, or Jesuits, and Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, and keeping school, or taking upon themselves the education, or government, or boarding of youth within this realm or the dominions thereto belonging, were subjected to perpetual imprisonment; when even lay persons educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, were disabled from inheriting, or taking by descent, devise, or limitation in possession, reversion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and when the next of kin, being a Protestant, might seize upon and possess all such lands; and when, moreover, Papists were prohibited from purchasing any manors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments within the same limits, and all and singular estates and other interests whatsoever out of lands, to or for the use or behoof of any such persons, or upon any trust or confidence, mediately or immediately for their relief,—when such was the state of the law, it will be readily believed that the public was permitted to know very little about Catholic charitable trusts. But, as many Catholic families did in fact retain their lands through the fidelity and friendship of Protestant

neighbours, so some of their charitable endowments escaped discovery and alienation. The first Relief Act, passed in the eighteenth year of George III., confirmed Catholics in the possession of any lands held under titles not hitherto litigated, and so would render their charities less insecure; but when, thirteen years later, further relief was given, and Catholic worship was again recognised by English law, the foundation of any religious order within these realms was expressly forbidden, and it was enacted that all uses, trusts, and dispositions, whether of real or personal property, deemed superstitious and unlawful at that time, shall continue to be so deemed and taken. No legal means of enforcing the due administration of a Catholic trust as yet existed. A bequest for the purpose of bringing up poor children in the Catholic faith was pronounced void, as against the policy of the law; and a rent-charge decreed in 1680, upon trust for the maintenance of a Catholic priest and for the help of poor Catholics, was diverted as illegal. From the inquisition of the Charity Commissioners of 1818 and following years Roman Catholic charities were exempted; but in 1832 Catholics were conceded so much of justice as is involved in placing their endowments upon the same footing as those of Protestant dissenters. O'Connell's Act, passed in that year, after reciting that it is expedient to remove all doubts respecting the rights of his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion in England and Wales to acquire and hold property necessary for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes, enacts that, in respect to their schools, places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes in Great Britain, and the property held therewith, and the persons employed in or about the same, Roman Catholics shall be subject to the same laws as Protestant dissenters are subject to. Still, the suppression or prohibition of religious orders was maintained, and the operation of the Mortmain Act was reserved. O'Connell's Act received a retrospective interpretation by the courts, and was decided to apply to gifts for chapels; but any gifts coupled with uses deemed superstitious were held void.

At this point it will be well to pause and examine the position occupied by Catholics upon, let us say, the 1st of January 1853. In 1846 Sir S. Romilly had failed to carry a Bill which was designed to remove the disabilities arising from the law of superstitious uses, and in other respects Roman Catholic charities ranked with those of Protestant dissenters.

It is the modern Mortmain Act of 9 George II. c. 36

which offers the most serious obstacles to the foundation of charities. General in its operation, but pressing most heavily upon religious bodies like the Catholics, ill provided with churches and schools, it provides that any disposition of real estate, or of money to be laid out in land, in trust for or for the benefit of any charitable uses, shall be void, unless made by deed executed twelve months and enrolled six months before the death of the donor, and made to take effect immediately, absolutely, and without any reservation. Moreover, the Statute of Frauds enacts that all declarations of or creations of trust or confidences of any lands, &c., shall be manifested and proved by some writing signed by the party who is by law enabled to declare such trust, or by his last will consenting, or else they shall be utterly void. Land, therefore, cannot be left by will to a charity, nor money to be laid out in land or in building where no land is already provided as a site for buildings. Land can only be given by deed, which, however securely drawn, will fail to take effect if the donor die within twelve months of its execution or six months of its enrolment. And then also the deed of gift, or some other deed to be likewise enrolled, must expressly declare the purposes of the trust.

Until the adoption of O'Connell's Act, the declaration of Catholic trusts would have courted confiscation. After the passing of that Act, prudent Catholics began to enrol the trust-deeds of charities, such as chapels, schools, and the like; but the memory of the penal laws, and suspicion engendered by their atrocious injustice, prevented the practice from becoming popular or general. Even cautious lawyers, accustomed to the old tenure on secret trust, which, though technically illegal and insecure, was found in effect flexible and convenient, did not invariably recommend their clients to declare charitable trusts; and it is less surprising that the clergy, failing to realise this relation as mere administrators of trusts, should come to regard the property as their own, and look upon legal formalities, really essential to security, as a virtual alienation to the State of the goods and chattels of the Church. Such a feeling was natural enough among the ill-informed and narrow-minded. A considerable step towards greater regularity was taken at the settlement of a trust-deed for schools, agreed upon between the Catholic authorities and the Education Department of the Privy Council. This deed once enrolled, a short deed of reference to it was alone necessary to secure a safe legal tenure for a school, and it was hoped that safety and uniformity would thus be obtained. But the publication of a pamphlet proclaiming

difference of opinion amongst the Bishops was not calculated to promote so desirable an object; and, while no person acquainted with the law and with facts can deny that schools settled under the Catholic school deed are of all such institutions the most securely established, and the freest from interference by Parliament or the Court of Chancery, we have lately seen in the newspapers the priest of the largest London mission vaunting himself in that the seven schools of his parish have accepted no building grants from Government, and thus remain *our own*. We remember to have heard of a worthy ecclesiastic who declined a grant because of a condition attached to its acceptance, that the school-children should be provided with urinals and privies, which he considered luxuries beyond the power of the State to impose, more especially as he had not himself, while at college, enjoyed the use of any convenience of the kind. Such reasoning may be thought antiquated, and scarcely decent, but it is not so utterly irrational as the proceedings of trustees of charities founded and supported by gifts, who should reject proffered aid on the plea that they desired to keep the charity *their own*. Their own it is not, never was, and never will be; and a Chancery suit, which any subscriber might institute at the cost of the charity, would be found a rough mode of acquiring so elementary a truth.

Concealment in the administration of trust-funds must be repugnant to the wishes of every honest trustee, and there was no reason in 1853 why the trusts of schools or chapels should not have been legally declared. With regard to other trusts, however, Catholics found themselves in a painful difficulty, since the law of superstitious uses imperiled any fund to which a condition of Masses for the donor's soul was annexed. Mr. Finlason, in the preface to his latest work, labours with much learning to elucidate this division of his subject, and to establish several important propositions with regard to it. His principal conclusions may thus be marshalled.

First. A gift for masses for the soul of the donor himself is not a charity. No man can establish a charity for his own private benefit, because the good of others is of the essence of every such foundation. But a bequest for masses looks only to the good of the testator's soul. It is not therefore a charity in the legal sense, nor entitled to the perpetuity which the law creates for charities alone.

Second. If such bequests were charities, the courts would not recognise them. Chancery will only recognise such charitable trusts as it has power to enforce. The essence of

masses for the dead lies, not in the performance of religious services, but in the intention of the priest, which is quite beyond the control of any persons or courts, civil or ecclesiastical. And in particular, Chancery, making no claim to regulate conscience, cannot enforce masses for a special purpose; and so, even if the benefit were not personal to the donor, would not recognise them as the object of charitable trusts.

Third. The law of the Church does not differ from the English law so widely as has been imagined. The Church, regarding such gifts as in substance for the support of priests, does not prohibit them, but it restricts them to the utmost, recognising them no otherwise than to enforce against the ecclesiastic accepting them the obligation of discharging the conditions or wishes of testators. The inevitable tendency to an accumulation of impossible obligations has obtained for Bishops the power of commuting such trusts; and the Council of Trent warns the faithful of the risk of abuse, avarice, simony, and superstition.

Fourth. The proper mode of fulfilling the wishes of the Church, and avoiding danger from the English courts, is to provide unconditionally for the support of priests or chapels, leaving all question of return in spiritual benefits to the devotion, or gratitude, or conscience of the persons benefited.

Such, however, has not been the custom of Catholics. When all their charities and purposes were alike illegal, secrecy afforded the only chance of escape, and masses for the donor's soul generally formed a part of the secret trusts. At the time of which we write, although Catholic charities had been recognised, such uses were still deemed superstitious, and invalidated any fund with which they were mixed up. A Catholic trustee, however honourable a lover of light rather than darkness, could not in conscience declare a trust so situated. The evil of concealment was forced upon him. In this respect a change has recently been effected, to which we shall subsequently advert.

But yet another difficulty interfered with the open administration of Catholic trusts, with regard to which no legal relief has been granted up to the present time. At the repeal of the penal laws, the foundation or endowment of any religious order or society of persons bound by monastic or religious vows was prohibited, and the celebrated Emancipation Act, while freeing female orders from restriction, provides a complete, but happily inoperative, system for the suppression of Jesuits and all other religious orders of men. It is notorious that these laws have been disregarded, and their exasperating and tyrannical provisions set at naught. Not only

have the old communities been preserved from dying out, but year by year the *Catholic Directory* boldly avows the increase in number of new orders, with their houses, colleges, and churches. No property can be held on open trust for the use of any such order. In time, perhaps, this wrong may be repaired. Englishmen, who do not persecute opinion, may learn to tolerate and recognise what they must know to exist; and the State, which avails itself of the services of religious in teaching boys, training schoolmasters, and reforming criminals, can scarcely forbid the holding of property necessary for the performance of these and the like good works.

Such, in brief, was the condition of Catholics prior to the passing of the Charitable Trusts Act of 1853. Their charitable trusts had been generally legalised; but many trustees through ignorance, had failed to bring within the protection of law the property they administered for others; and all trusts involving the obligation of masses for particular purposes, as well as those held for religious orders of men, were threatened with spoliation, and so necessarily concealed. Inequalities in the law, placing Catholics on a lower level than other Englishmen, and subjecting some of their charities to confiscation at a time when there was no disposition to inflict actual wrong upon them, had exempted Catholic trusts from the inquisition made into Protestant charities. Evidence taken before parliamentary committees on the mortmain law had thrown a partial light upon transactions often irregular though well-intentioned; and notices annually recurring in the *Catholic Directory*, such as "Lea House Mission, vacant," and "Dodding Green, vacant," indicated the existence of unsettled disputes within the Catholic body itself. The wealth of our charities was exaggerated by popular rumour; while the names of Weld, Heatley, Blundell, Menzies, and many other liberal benefactors, sufficed to prove that the shadow, though magnified, actually represented a real substance of no insignificant dimensions.

In 1853 was at length passed the Charitable Trusts Act, enlarged in 1855, and further extended in 1860. In the same session the Roman Catholic Charities Act became law, exemptions in favour of our trusts ceased, and henceforward, subject to the special provisions of the Catholic Act, the open straightforward administration of charitable funds is secured to us equally and in the same manner as to other subjects of the British Crown.

By the Catholic Charities Act the law against gifts for uses deemed superstitious, that is, bequests on condition of masses, is not so much repeated as obviated and set aside.

The lawful trust is recognised, and will be carried into execution, and the residue of the gift or disposition will be appropriated by the Court of Chancery or the Commissioners of Charities to such charitable uses as the court or commissioners may consider most just. No transaction affecting a charity which took place prior to the legalisation of Catholic trusts by O'Connell's Act can be made the ground of any suit, excepting only fraudulent misapplication or appropriation for private purposes not charitable; so that all mistakes and errors of judgment in dealing with charitable funds during the maintenance of penal laws are condoned. Deeds of charities and declarations of trust which ought to have been enrolled under the Mortmain Act, but have not been enrolled through a misapprehension, such as we have attempted to illustrate about keeping charities "our own," or from any other cause, will not be void, if enrolled before the 28th of August 1861, when twelve months will have elapsed from the passing of the Act; and the expense of enrolment may be charged against the charity. It is material to observe, that not only deeds conveying property by gift for charities must be enrolled, but, where acquisition is made by purchase, enrolment of the conveyance is likewise obligatory. The deeds of all Catholic churches, chapels, schools, colleges, convents, almshouses, and the like, however acquired, must be enrolled before the end of August next, that the tenure may be legally secure. But to return to the Act: in cases where no declaration of trust has been made, the usage of twenty years will be deemed to afford conclusive evidence of the trusts on which property has been settled; but religious orders of men are not the less prohibited, and trusts for their support would have to be commuted.

For a complete elucidation of the various provisions of the general Charitable Trusts Acts, under the operation of which Catholic charities now fall, we must refer to Mr. Finlason's treatises, which, by the way, are obscured by a large number of misprints, especially in the Latin quotations. All we can do here is to give a meagre outline for the sake of the ordinary reader.

Commissioners, with secretary and inspectors, are appointed by the Crown to inquire into the condition and management of charities. Written accounts of all charitable funds may be called for, and their verification on oath demanded, as well as copies of deeds and records. False evidence is made a misdemeanour, and refusal to produce accounts a contempt of court. Trustees and other persons concerned in charities may apply for the commissioners' advice, and be

indemnified for acting upon it. The commissioners may sanction suits or compromises, remove officers, approve leases or mortgages, and even authorise the sale, exchange, or acquisition of land. Facilities for obtaining relief from the equity courts are created for charities possessing an annual income exceeding 50% ; and district courts of bankruptcy and county courts acquire jurisdiction over charities of lesser value, subject to appeal to Chancery. Schemes for varying trusts may be framed by the board, who must annually report to Parliament. The universities and colleges of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Durham, and all Protestant cathedral and collegiate churches and dissenting chapels, are exempt ; as also Queen Anne's Bounty, the British Museum, benefit societies, and religious institutions wholly maintained by voluntary contributions. Catholic chapels appear to be subject to the operation of the Acts in regard to their endowments. By the most recent Act the commissioners themselves acquire direct jurisdiction over charities of less than 50% annual income ; and upon the application of a trustee or interested person, or of any two inhabitants of the place within which the charity is administered, they may appoint or remove trustees, remove schoolmasters or mistresses, and other officers, deal with any real or personal estate, and establish a scheme for due administration.

As an example of the benefits to be obtained from the Charity Board, we may take an instance which attracted considerable notice a few years ago. A chapel in a populous town had an extensive graveyard attached to it, with the drawback of a heavy mortgage. The wisdom of the first founders had placed the chapel and cemetery safely in trust, with all legal formalities. While the graveyard could be used, interest of the debt was easily paid ; but in process of time the Privy Council prohibited further burials, and a large plot of ground, in which no bodies had been placed, remained wholly useless, although of very great value for building purposes. Discussion led to a change of ecclesiastics, but the difficulty remained. Lawyers advised that the trust-deed permitted no variation in the use of the land, which must be employed as a churchyard, or not at all. Interest upon what seemed wasted capital has to be wrung from a poor congregation. This, as far as our information goes, is the state of the property at the present moment. An immediate simple remedy is provided by the Trusts Act of 1853, which declares, that if in any case it appears to the trustees that any part of the charity lands may be beneficially let on building or other leases, or that it would be for the benefit of the charity that

any new road or street should be formed or laid out, or any other improvements should be made, it shall be lawful for the trustees to lay a proposal before the Board, which may order the alterations and improvements to be carried into effect, "although such leases or acts respectively shall not be authorised or permitted by the trust." Application to the Board will make this chapel again rich and prosperous. A multitude of similar instances might be cited, for the word "charity" has an extended signification, embracing every foundation which we possess for a permanent public purpose.

For all such foundations the dark day of concealment and malversation is now over. Catholic trustees will declare trusts, and return accounts of charitable property, as upright men would desire to do. Restored confidence will produce increased liberality. The begging trade, ruined by mendacious appeals, will flourish again for the really distressed, and every true want, social or religious, will in time be met by its appropriate charity. Thus will have been achieved one stride forward along the path of reform, opened by the restoration of our Hierarchy.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

SOME years have passed since the abuses of the Irish Church Establishment have been prominently brought under discussion in the chief organs of public opinion, whether Journals or Reviews. The *Edinburgh Review*, which in the ten years between 1834 and 1844 returned continually to this question,—traversed it in every part, and presented it in every light,—has for many years preserved an absolute silence respecting a political anomaly, which in the interval has lost none of its odious and dangerous characteristics. In truth, the day of the *Edinburgh* has gone by. What made the life and fire of its pages was not so much the ability of its disquisitions, or the exhaustiveness of its criticisms, as that bold way it had of grappling with every abuse, whether foreign or domestic, of which the needs of the time specially required a reformation, and of vindicating, even in dark days, the cause of human rights and human liberty. But this description has long ceased to be applicable. The *Edinburgh Review*, like the Whig Ministry, has grown cautious and reticent as regards English interests. The Government has no measure to announce—the *Review* no protest to utter—in abatement of a political nuisance to which Sidney Smith thought there

was nothing parallel "in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa, and in all we have heard of Timbuctoo!"

We intend on the present occasion to open afresh this question, which ought to have been disposed of years ago. Not that we aim at treating it exhaustively,—the grievance is too ancient, too deeply seated, too ramified for that,—or pretend to say any thing new or striking upon a subject which has been a theme for some of the most vigorous and brilliant minds of the present century. We desire simply to reëxhibit the naked facts of the case, to draw attention to the social evils of every kind which the continuance of the Protestant Establishment inflicts upon Ireland, and to prove, by the appeal to principles which the majority of Englishmen admit, and to authorities which they themselves love to refer to, that until the Irish Church is reformed Irishmen cannot, *and ought not*, to be well affected to the constitution under which they live.

In the present state of political science, we are fortunately spared the trouble of arguing the question on its religious merits. No one worth arguing with maintains at this day that the State, in any civilised country, ought to show greater favour to the adherents of one religious denomination than to those of another, on the grounds that the tenets of the favoured denomination are truer, or more conducive to salvation. The inevitable increase of sects among the Protestants, whose system tends continually to separation, and the progress of infidelity in Catholic Europe, has made it impossible to attain, and hopeless to desire, that unity of religion in the State which, down to the seventeenth century, was the constant motive of persecution and of civil wars; and faith has ceased to exact from unbelief even the tribute of hypocrisy. It is agreed on all hands that the State is justified in repressing the public and practical profession only of those doctrines which are openly and directly revolting to the moral sense of the majority. American statesmen, indeed, seem not even to go so far as this, since Mormonism, which would not be tolerated in Europe, is allowed free course in the United States. But as to all forms of belief which are not manifestly anti-social and degrading, it is agreed that the State is bound to stand neutral towards them all, and to protect its citizens in the free exercise of any which they may select. So far as to negative encouragement; with regard to positive State-support, the principle of equal dealing towards all is limited simply by the inconvenience—practically amounting to an impossibility—of recognising, in

the arrangements necessary for extending and checking such support, more than three or four among the larger religious divisions under which a population may be grouped. Thus in our Australian colonies, while all religious bodies are tolerated and protected, the State actively supports only three, corresponding to the broad divisions of the colonial population,—the Church of England, the Catholic Church, and the Kirk of Scotland,—all three of which are placed on a footing of equality, and aided—at least theoretically—in the ratio of their respective numbers. The Wesleyans, if sufficiently numerous, sometimes form a fourth body receiving State aid. Ireland is the only portion of the British empire in which the State, when dealing with the population in its religious distribution, as Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic, apportions the public endowments and funds appropriated to religious purposes thus:—to the Church of England, representing about 14 per cent of the population, 90 per cent of the endowments; to the Kirk of Scotland, representing about 9 per cent of the population, 5·4 per cent of the endowments; and to the Catholic Church, representing about 75 per cent of the population, 4·3 per cent of the endowments. These are the simple facts of the case, which no amount of sophistry can alter. Nor can it be maintained for an instant that the endowments of the Establishment are of the nature of private property, and cannot be brought under the category of State aid to religion. Omitting for the present all reference to the manner in which that property passed into the hands of the Establishment, we may safely appeal both to the theory and the practice of the Liberal party all over Europe (and it is from *that* party, not from the Conservatives, that we look for justice in this matter of the Irish Church), as establishing this fundamental position,—that whenever any religious corporation has obtained a considerable portion of the lands or rents of any country, the Government of that country is justified in regarding and treating those lands and rents as public property,—in reducing their amount, in modifying their application, or even in wholly secularising them. One or other of these modes of action has been followed by the State when dealing with the property of the Catholic Church in England, France, Spain, Portugal, North Germany, Holland, Sardinia, and now Central Italy. It was by virtue of this assumed right on the part of the State that the lands and rents of the Catholic Church in Ireland were in the sixteenth century forcibly taken from her, and appropriated to the religious wants of the denomination which still enjoys them. What, therefore, the State gave in the six-

teenth century, it could either wholly or partially take away in the nineteenth; and so long as it leaves the endowments of the Irish Church untouched, it may be said virtually to confer them.

Whether the position above stated be in itself a sound one, we are not here concerned to inquire. It is enough for our present purpose that the party whom our Liberals applaud maintain it and act upon it all over Europe. Our object should be, to compel them to be consistent,—to apply something like the same measure to the Irish Establishment the application of which to ecclesiastical foundations elsewhere they have aided in or approved. There is a limit to the sacredness of property, whether private or corporate, where its nature or its extent renders it dangerous to the State. It is not necessary to admit the justice of the confiscations in any of the countries we have named in order to recognise the fact that an excessively wealthy church impoverishes the nation. What, therefore, may be justified by a material necessity may on moral grounds become a duty. All admit that the State may, in certain cases, interfere with the rights of corporate proprietors; we are now to inquire whether the Irish Church affords an instance where it might do so.

From whatever point of view we regard this institution, it appears alike indefensible. English Protestants, though without personal experience of it, have condemned it for no other reason than that they were honest, and it was iniquitous. English Catholics, who may happen to have resided in Ireland condemn it, because, apart from their natural indignation against wrong, they witness every day its blighting operation on the Irish character, and on Ireland's prosperity. The student of history, whatever may be his creed, condemns it, because in the manner of its establishment the rights of conscience, the sacredness of prescription, the dignity of an ancient people, and the faith of solemn conventions, tacit if not expressed, were all shamelessly violated. Let us consider separately the evidence of each of these three classes of witnesses.

Dr. Arnold (*Life*, p. 305, 6th edition) thus wrote in 1834:

“The good Protestants and bad Christians have talked nonsense, and worse than nonsense, so long about Popery, and the Beast, and Antichrist, and Babylon, that *the simple, just, and Christian measure* of establishing the Roman Catholic Church in three-fifths of Ireland seems renounced by common consent.”

Again, in 1836 (p. 363):

“For whether Ireland remain in its present barbarism, or grow

in health and civilisation, in either case the downfall of the present Establishment is certain ; a savage people will not endure the insult of a hostile religion, a civilised one will reasonably insist on having their own."

Later in the same year he wrote (p. 373) :

"In this my German friends agree with me as fully as they do in my dislike to the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, which is the land of Irishmen, and from which we ought to go, and not the Irish, if our consciences clamour against living with them according to justice."

The well-known fragment by Sidney Smith on the Irish Roman Catholic Church, published after his death, in 1845, while its principal aim is to advocate the payment by the State of stipends to the Catholic clergy, deals many a side-blow at the monstrous institution which absorbs the revenues whence, without burden to the State, those stipends were provided for in perpetuity by the Irish of former times. After professing his hearty regard for Protestantism in the abstract, he declares that he has no admiration for "Protestant hassocks on which there are no knees, for cushions on which there is no superincumbent Protestant pressure, and for whole acres of tenantless Protestant pews ;" he feels no reverence for "orthodox emptiness and pious vacuity ;" and he concludes that "such a church is hardly worth an insurrection and civil war every ten years."

But we have an authority to bring forward which, with the Liberal party in England, particularly with Lord John Russell, ought surely to be final. Our last extraneous witness against the Irish Establishment shall be no less a person than the Count Cavour. "Camille de Cavour" published, in the *Bibliothèque de Genève*, in the year 1845, a very able and interesting pamphlet on the condition of Ireland. Such a breadth of view, so minute a knowledge of facts, so just and profound an appreciation of the national character both of Englishmen and of Irishmen, it is most remarkable to meet with in a foreigner. It was just about the time of the imprisonment of O'Connell, and of the agitation on the Repeal question ; and the principal object of Cavour seems to have been to present to political reasoners on the Continent a picture of the state of Ireland so faithful as to enable them to form a reliable estimate of the merits of that agitation, as well as of its probable issue. Cavour was of opinion that, on the whole, Repeal was not for the good of Ireland, and that England could not, and would not, consent to it. But if Repeal were not granted, he thought that the speedy reform of Irish grievances was all the more incumbent upon English

statesmen. Among these grievances, he gave a prominent place to the Irish Establishment. "The Protestant clergy," he said (p. 69), "still represent, in the eyes of the Catholics, the cause of all their miseries, and remain a sign of the abasement and oppression which embitter their sufferings." Again, after detailing a variety of social anomalies and defects, he said, that all the evils which he had enumerated were "aggravated by the existence of a Protestant clergy, who live in the midst of a population of zealous Catholics." He thought, too,—one sees in the phrase the future *malleus monachorum*, the future confiscator of Church property in Italy,—that "the reform of the Established Church was so essential to the well-being of Ireland, that *one ought not to be too scrupulous as to the means by which it should be accomplished*" (p. 92).

Cavour evidently thought—it is almost the only miscalculation that one meets with in this remarkable paper—that the fall of the Irish Establishment was then imminent. "The reform of the Established Church," he says, "will take place, one way or another;" and so passes on to the discussion of reforms which he considered more debatable. We must turn to the second class of witnesses for facts and considerations elucidating the continued vitality and vigour of a system which political science has long ago stamped with reprobation.

English Catholics residing in Ireland are impressed at first with mingled wonder and indignation at the strange aspect of religious affairs. They have been used to hear the Irish spoken of as a Catholic nation, and, in a general sense, the description is unquestionably just. Yet they cannot pass through the most crowded thoroughfares of Dublin (a city of which the population is two-thirds Catholic) without coming full upon such announcements as the following, printed in gigantic type upon huge ambulatory placards, carried by 'converts:'

"IRISH CHURCH MISSIONS TO ROMAN CATHOLICS.—Discussion in Rath Row, this evening, at half-past seven o'clock. Subject: IS THE POPE THE MAN OF SIN? Conductor, the Rev. Mr. So-and-so. Roman Catholic friends are affectionately invited to attend."

The "subjects," as may be imagined, admit of being varied to any extent: sometimes it is, "Is the doctrine of Transubstantiation unscriptural?" or, "Has Dr. Cullen got the three men of the Irish Brigade out of purgatory yet?" or, "Are Roman Catholics idolaters?" The English Catholic tries to imagine what would happen if similar placards were paraded up and down Regent Street, querying, with an evident bias

to an affirmative solution, "Was Luther an apostate and incontinent monk?" or, "Did the Reformed Church originate in Henry VIII.'s adulterous connection with Anne Boleyn?" He wonders what stuff the Catholic people are made of to put up with such gross and oft-repeated insults,—insults the like of which the Protestant majority in England would not brook for an instant. It strikes him that the clergy of the Establishment are so conducting themselves as if they desired that the Catholics should feel the full depth of their humiliation; they are not content with having injured them, unless they can insult them too. One would suppose that the Protestant beneficiaries, who hold the episcopal lands, glebe-lands, tithes, cess, &c., which once belonged to the Catholics, and were taken from them by force, would, out of a regard to decency, if not to common sense, aim at being as quiet and inoffensive as possible. If they were wise, they would content themselves with monopolising the hire, and would leave the legitimate pastors undisturbed in the exercise of the duties. But no; they have got the revenues, and must now, having that vantage-ground, use it to tamper with the congregations. What foreigner would credit beforehand the existence of such a social phenomenon as this,—that a richly-endowed clergy should deliberately employ the leisure, the mental cultivation, the facilities of every kind which the possession of the endowments places within their reach, in endeavouring to deprive the poor and down-trodden majority of their countrymen of that religion to instruct them in which those endowments were originally devoted by their forefathers?

But the feeling of indignation is in its nature transitory; our English Catholic becomes habituated to this and many other strange things; among which, the singular spectacle of the two ancient cathedrals of Dublin, Christchurch and St. Patrick's, rising in the midst of a dense Catholic population, by whose ancestors they were reared and used, but barricaded and barred during the week, and only opened on Sundays to a flirting, tittering, gossiping, Protestant crowd, who resort thither as to a public promenade, anthems by Stevenson being simply substituted for waltzes by Labitzky, is to a new-comer not the least astounding. But if he ceases to be indignant, he observes and reflects all the more intently, in order to discover the conditions upon which the perpetuation of such a state of things depends. These appear to him to reduce themselves in the main to three:

1. The comparative inaptitude of the pure Irish race for the constitutional life as understood by Englishmen.
2. The political feebleness of the Catholic clergy.

3. The ability and high character of many of the leading clergy of the Establishment during the last quarter of a century.

1. Irishmen often admit the uncongeniality of the constitutional *régime* to the Celtic character, and maintain that, were Ireland independent of England to-morrow, it would be her wisdom to intrust her affairs to a government of the paternal and absolute order, rather than continue the complex political system imposed upon her by England. Of course the career of O'Connell will instantly occur on the other side. However, "one swallow does not make a summer," and this great exception, as in so many other cases, only proves the rule. O'Connell did, indeed, force his countrymen to participate in the general constitutional movement of the empire; and, while he lived, they reaped the fruits in a series of unparalleled political successes. But he did so by the power of his own genius,—by his personal ascendancy; and when he died he left no successor,—one might almost say no political disciples; and Irish Catholic policy has since then led to nothing but mortification and failure. Had O'Connell brought to bear against the Establishment one-half of the forces which he set in motion to obtain Repeal, its reform would long ere this have been matter of history. But he was precluded from doing so by the terms on which he held his seat in Parliament, under the Emancipation Act; and, if we are disposed to judge favourably of his career and character, we shall probably consider this the real explanation of his strenuous, and, as it seemed, Quixotic, endeavours to carry Repeal. An Irish Parliament, freely elected, would of course not long be trammelled by pledges to leave the Establishment untouched, even though it had commenced its existence under such pledges.

2. To speak of the political weakness of the Catholic clergy may seem absurd, when their influence over the elections is considered. It is, however, most true that, for gaining any definite political result, for promoting some special measure through the various stages of discussion, agitation, negotiation, and Parliamentary action, until it becomes a law of the land, the Catholic clergy, as a body, are singularly ill-fitted. This may appear strange, when the mutual subordination and *esprit de corps* which animate so numerous a body of educated men are considered. But, in the first place, the clergy share the general inaptitude of the Celtic race for that sustained and persevering constitutional action which is indispensable to success on the imperial stage. Secondly, the feeling of *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, the

rooted distrust of every thing English, so natural in a people having such a history, disinclines them yet farther to adopt those practices of negotiation and consultation with Government (the *English* Government, as they regard it) which are necessary preliminaries to effective legislation. Thirdly, it must be remembered that, through the subtle policy of Sir Robert Peel, the Catholic clergy of the present day are for the most part recruited from a class in society lower than those in which political influence resides. Given the problem,—how to reduce the political effectiveness of a national clergy to a minimum ; Sir Robert Peel saw* that the solution was, education at the expense of the State, maintenance afterwards on the voluntary principle. For, by holding out the bonus of a gratuitous education, and something more,† during seven years of youth, he knew that he would enable small farmers and shopkeepers in great numbers to send their sons to Maynooth ; and that they would do so because, independently of higher motives, the having a son a priest constitutes to such persons a direct and important rise in the social scale. That the moral and religious character of the clergymen thus derived from the humbler ranks is most exemplary, and fully equal to that of their brethren of higher birth, is a consoling and indubitable fact. But it is clear that, so far as any human aims, any temporal ambition, may be compatible with their sacred calling, these will, in a peasant clergy, have a social rather than a political colouring ; their *end* will be elevation to that class where the power of influencing Government generally *begins*.

3. Again, given the problem,—how to raise the political effectiveness of a clerical body to its maximum ; the solution will be, education from private resources, maintenance afterwards at the expense of the State. This is precisely the case with the Irish Establishment. An expensive college education, as a necessary preliminary to taking orders, precludes any but the sons of persons in easy circumstances from entering the ministry ; but after his education is over, the minister is secure of a dignified maintenance at the expense of the State. Hence parents of the higher and politically influential classes destine their sons for the Protestant ministry just as they do for the bar or the army, and for the same reason, because it is a “respectable profession,” and

* Whether Peel distinctly foresaw all these consequences of the endowment of Maynooth we do not know ; the effect is the same as if he had.

† There is a large class of senior students at Maynooth who, besides getting their education and board free of expense, receive an annual grant of about 20*l.* of public money a-piece.

contains many prizes. We have not space here to develop all the consequences which flow from the simple primary conditions that we have indicated; but the intelligent reader will easily trace them out for himself. Under such a system, able men of the world are sure to be formed, skilled in the management of affairs, and in dealing with mankind. Great care has also been taken by the Government for many years in the appointment of Protestant Bishops. They well know the importance of having men of ability and tact in stations so eminently invidious.

The considerations which have been here imperfectly indicated, may help to explain how it is that the earnest and confident anticipations of Sidney Smith, Arnold, Cavour, &c. yet remain unrealised. But let not this delay of justice be suffered to raise a presumption in favour of the right to exist of an institution endowed with such obstinate vitality. Let it not be said, "After all, the case of the Irish Establishment is the same with that of the English; each came in with wrong-doing, but time heals over such wounds; so that, perhaps, the old injury cannot be repaired without committing a greater one." The cases of the two Establishments are widely different, as the following sketch will demonstrate. History is our last, and the most damning, witness against the Irish Church.

The revenues of the Irish Establishment at the present time amount to nearly 620,000*l.* per annum.* Now all the lands, tithes, and funds which this income represents (together with much other property that has been secularised), are part of the soil, or represent the produce of the soil, of Ireland; and they were given in ancient times to the Catholic Church, for the promotion and sustentation of the Catholic

* From *Thom's Post-Office Directory* for 1861 we extract the following particulars:

REVENUES OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

Income of Ecclesiastical Commissioners..	..	£131,423
Primate Boulter's and Primate Robinson's Funds		5,529
Revenues of Episcopal Sees	79,197
Tithe rent-charge	401,114

Total £617,263

In 1858 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners expended the sum of 47,573*l.* in aid of the "repairs" of churches; a word probably used with much latitude of meaning. In 1834 the sum expended for the same purpose was only 1,152*l.* This statistical detail goes far to explain the activity in rebuilding and beautifying their churches, which has shown itself among the Protestants of late years. The iniquity of a system under which the wealthy Protestant minority receives from the Government nearly 50,000*l.* a-year in aid of its church-building operations, while the Catholic people, out of the depth of its poverty, has not only to maintain its clergy, but to keep its chapels in repair, as well as build new ones, requires no comment.

religion in Ireland. That this Catholic religion was precisely identical, at the time when these endowments were made, with the religion of the Catholic majority of the Irish people at this day, is a fact so certain and so patent, that none but a bigot or an idiot would deny it. Mass was said, the angels and saints were invoked, sins were confessed and absolved, the supremacy of the Holy See was acknowledged, among the Irish who lived between the fifth and the twelfth centuries, just as they are among the Irish of 1861.

The English invasion commenced in the year of St. Thomas Becket's death, and the first ecclesiastical wrong, if it can be called such, was committed soon after by the nomination of an Englishman, John Cumin, to the see of Dublin, upon the death of the great St. Laurence O'Toole. While the saint lived, even Henry II. did not venture to interfere with him; on the contrary, he often sent for him, and consulted him upon important affairs. St. Laurence died at the monastery of Eu, in 1180, and his last mournful words foreboded the coming miseries of Ireland. "A little before his death he lamented the sad state of his country, saying, 'Ah, foolish and senseless people, what are you now to do? Who will cure your misfortunes? Who will heal you?'"* The precedent of Cumin's appointment was followed in many other instances, until the greater number of the Irish sees were filled by Englishmen. This was certainly a grievance; yet it must be remembered that those who suffered from it were comparatively few. The churches were still open to the laity, who revered the sacred unction and seal of the Church in the English no less than in the native Bishops; the chief part of the ecclesiastical revenues was expended as before, partly in relieving the poor and sick, partly in promoting education, partly in providing for public worship; so that the endowments still served the purposes for which they were originally set apart.

But all this was changed by the infernal policy of Elizabeth and her crafty ministers. Englishmen look back with pride for many reasons to the age of Elizabeth; but to an Irishman her reign marks the setting of every star which had heretofore shed a gleam of hope over the struggles of his unhappy country, and the commencement of that long night of humiliation from which she has not even yet emerged. "The Reformation," says the Protestant Lappenberg, "was politically in few countries so important, in none more disastrous, than in Ireland." And the most eminent of the Prussian Protestants writes: "The introduction of the Reforma-

* Lanigan's *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 244.

tion into Ireland took place under circumstances which would convert every religion into poison." Never till the Elizabethan religion is pulled down from the high places of the State, and compelled to disgorge the plunder of the Church,—at any rate, so much of it as exceeds the ratable share receivable by its adherents from the State in proportion to their numbers,—can Irishmen walk with head erect, and, in the recognition of actual redress, try to forget the unparalleled wrong to which they have been subjected for just 300 years.

Little or nothing was effected towards changing the religion of Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII. Acts of the Irish Parliament were, indeed, passed, enacting the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch, prohibiting all appeals to Rome, and abolishing certain monasteries. But the Parliament of Ireland meant something very different from that of England. It was elected by, and represented, merely the inhabitants of the English pale,—the people of the counties, who occupied what was called "shire-ground." Even among these, the statutes in question appear to have been but partially submitted to. The Archbishop of Armagh, Cromer, an Englishman, with his suffragans and the clergy of the province, openly condemned the new doctrine of the royal supremacy, and we do not hear of their having been punished or coerced into compliance. Among the Irish, it was not even pretended at this time that the statutes of the Irish Parliament had the force of law. The country outside the pale was governed by proclamations, executed summarily, so far as they could be executed at all, by royal officers.

Under Edward VI. something was effected, but not much. A royal proclamation was transmitted to the Irish clergy in 1550, requiring them to accept and use the new liturgy, that is, the Protestant prayer-book, nearly as it stands at present. But only four bishops besides the Archbishop of Dublin, George Browne,—the Cranmer of Ireland,—consented to use it. Dowdall, the primate, raised such a violent opposition to it, that he was sent into exile. The new liturgy was performed for the first time in Christ-Church Cathedral, on Easter Sunday 1551, before the Lord-Deputy, the magistrates, and a few of the clergy. The majority even of the Dublin clergy repudiated it *in toto*. About this time John Bale, the author of a number of indecent and scurrilous plays, and a zealous promoter of the "Reformation," was nominated Bishop of Ossory. But so little did his flock approve of the new religion, that he was soon after obliged to flee the country, narrowly escaping with his life from the indignation of the people.

Upon the accession of Mary, the little that had been done towards Protestantising the Church of Ireland was immediately and easily swept away. Browne and the four or five other Bishops who had accepted the Protestant liturgy and married were deposed, and Catholic Bishops put in their places. Dowdall was restored to his see. The country was quiet during nearly the whole reign; *not a single execution on account of religion took place in Ireland under Mary.* "On this, as on subsequent occasions," says the great authority we have just quoted, "we are bound to admit that during their brief triumphs the Catholics acted with great moderation."

Elizabeth, therefore, upon her accession in 1558, found Ireland comparatively tranquil, and almost the entire population, whether English or Irish, contentedly adhering to the ancient faith. There was no body of exiles, as in England, returning home after the Marian persecution, confirmed in their Protestant convictions by their past sufferings, and ready to go any lengths in encouraging the government to break with Rome for ever. It seemed as if there was little to be gained, and much to be risked, by disturbing the settled religious state of Ireland. Why, then, did Elizabeth and her ministers resolve upon establishing Protestantism there? Their reasons were, probably,—First, a regard to theoretical consistency, since it was obviously absurd that she who was Queen of Ireland* as well as of England should be head of the Church in one country and not in the other. The same feeling induced James I. and Charles I. to labour so suicidally to establish Episcopacy in Scotland. Secondly, there were many subtle schemers among the leading nobility and gentry in both countries, who urged the forcible establishment of Protestantism from a simple calculation of the chances of profit to themselves. They reasoned thus: The attempt to introduce the new religion will cause Ireland to blaze out in insurrections; many of the native chieftains, who are possessed of immense estates, will rise in defence of their faith; in putting them down there will be employment for loyal adventurers, English or Irish; when they are put down, their estates will of course be confiscated; and those who have faithfully served her Majesty will then be compensated for their arduous services out of the forfeited lands. It is an undoubted fact that there were many such Machiavelian plotters against the peace of Ireland and the very existence of her ancient families, whose hatred of Popery

* The title of "King" instead of "Lord" of Ireland had been first assumed by Henry VIII.

was simply a love for Papists' lands. Unfortunately these calculations answered only too well.

The change of religion was resolved upon ; but in Elizabeth and her ministers religion was made entirely subordinate to policy ; and the sweeping measures by which Protestantism was established in England were deemed inapplicable to the circumstances of Ireland. The gradual stealthy manner in which they advanced to their object might have taught a lesson in his art to Machiavel himself. First of all, as an announcement of what was eventually to follow, Sussex, the Lord-Deputy, upon his landing at the head of an army to assume the government, in 1559, proceeded to Christ Church, and had the English liturgy celebrated before him. For want of clergy, Sir Nicolas Dardy chanted the litany in the vulgar tongue, and the *Te Deum* was also performed in English to the sound of the trumpets.* A proclamation was soon after issued for the abolition of the Mass. In the following year, a parliament was convened by Sussex at Dublin, in which Acts for the establishment of the Protestant religion in Ireland, similar to those recently passed in England, were carried by a narrow majority. Again, it must be repeated, this parliament represented the English colonists, not the Irish people.

The Irish government was now armed with all the legal powers, with regard to religion, which were possessed by that of England. For some time, however, it used them with great caution. It appears that the Acts of Parliament just mentioned were not even made public, much less rigorously executed, until the defeat of the Spanish Armada enabled the government to treat Irish recusancy with a high hand.† In England, as soon as the Acts for establishing Protestantism were passed, the oath of supremacy not only *might* be tendered, but actually *was* tendered, to all the Catholic Bishops ; and when they all (with the exception of Kitchen of Llandaff) refused to take it, they were immediately deposed. But in Ireland the government at first took no steps to enforce the new system against the Bishops as a body. Two only, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, whose dioceses were at a short distance from the seat of government, and the former of whom made himself particularly obnoxious by preaching against the new prayer-book, were deposed and imprisoned. Their places were immediately filled by Conformists. In 1561 the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel died. Elizabeth nominated one M'Cagh-

* Abbé M'Geoghegan, *Hist. d'Irlande*, iii. p. 381.

† *Ibid.* p. 385.

well, who was of course a Conformist; the Holy See appointed Maurice Gibbon; and, in the dispute which ensued, it is said that Gibbon stabbed M'Caghwel to the heart. In 1562, an English Protestant, Loftus, was nominated to the see of Armagh, vacant since the death of Dowdall. Thus, in process of time, the Irish sees were filled with Protestants, who, of course, in the same gradual way,—with greater ease and rapidity the nearer their dioceses might be to Dublin, and inversely,—worked the Catholic priests out of the parishes, and appointed none but Conformists in their room. For the honour of Ireland, it must be said that the supply of these worthies was inadequate to meet the demand, and an attempt was made to fill up the deficiency by importing English ministers. What sort of results ensued from all this to society and to religion let Edmund Spenser inform us. In his "View of the State of Ireland," written about 1595, in the form of a dialogue between Eudoxus and Iræneus, the latter is made to say (p. 131):

"Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, ye may find these and many more: namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides all these, they have their particular enormities. For all Irish priests, which now enjoy the church livings, they are in a manner meer lay-men, saving that they have taken holy orders; but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kind of husbandry and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer Communion: but Baptism they do; for they christen yet after the Popish fashion, only they take the tythes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly."

Of the Bishops appointed by Elizabeth, he says:

"Some of them whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands; and set their own servants and horse-boys to take up the tythes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same."

Of the ministers from England, he says (p. 133):

"The most part of such English as come over thither of themselves are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England."

And he sums up the character of the new clergy in these words (p. 135):

"The clergy there (excepting the grave fathers which are in

high place about the State, and some few others which are lately planted in their new college*) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered."

Such, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, an Englishman and a Protestant, were the instruments—such the fruits—of the foundation of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. Campion gives an equally unfavourable report. It is evident that the case is widely different from that of the Church of England. The English Government and Parliament might plausibly claim to represent the English people; and if it be assumed that a secularising or appointing power over Church property does reside in the State, it must be admitted that the transfer of property which took place in England, whatever might be the moral guilt of the agents, was not *per se* illegal and unconstitutional. In other words, the Protestantising of the Establishment in England was the work of the nation, and its continued maintenance in the form then assigned to it is pursuant to the national will. But in Ireland the great bulk of the nation was opposed to the transfer, and was unrepresented in the Parliament which enacted it. Against the known wishes of the vast majority of the nation, the national Church property was forcibly transferred to the few professors of the religion lately set up in England; and it is by force alone, by the sheer pretension of the conquerors to oppress the conquered,—though disguised under constitutional forms,—that the original iniquity of that transfer is perpetuated in our own days in the insulting incubus of the Irish Establishment.

We repeat,—it is by force alone. Had Ireland her own way, she would very speedily, while paying due regard to individual interests, abolish the Establishment. She does not do so because England will not let her; because the overwhelming English and Protestant majority in the House of Commons chooses that that monument of conquest, that badge of humiliation, should be still maintained. Yet English journalists have the folly, or the hypocrisy, to say that Ireland is equally benefited by the constitution with England. Nothing can be easier than to test this most impudent assertion. Let an Englishman simply ask himself whether he would be satisfied with his beloved constitution if, under its sanction, some form of religious belief which the majority of Englishmen detested,—Mahomedanism, for instance,—were maintained by State endowments in every parish throughout England, and there were no constitutional means of obtain-

* Trinity College, Dublin; founded in the year 1593.

ing redress. Any honest Englishman would answer, No. Yet this is what he expects the Irish cheerfully to put up with, and all the while to be as convinced of the excellence of his constitution as he is himself. For England, indeed, nothing can work more smoothly; for as she furnishes about 500 out of the 658 members of Parliament, it is impossible that any law or institution which displeases the majority of Englishmen can have any long continuance. But for Ireland, furnishing only 100 members, whose votes, even were they all Catholics to a man, are powerless to remove the Establishment against the will of the great Protestant majority, the constitution appears by no means as a fountain of impartiality and equity. The shield is of gold on one side, of iron on the other.

We have not space on the present occasion to consider the possible terms of an arrangement for the equitable reform of the Irish Church. We are convinced, however, that, in the interest of England herself, it is full time that this question—which has been dropped for fifteen years, since the agitation on the famous Appropriation Clause—should be now again thoroughly sifted and permanently settled. Till then Ireland can never be a source of unalloyed strength to the empire, and her people will never learn to admire the British constitution. Catholic members of Parliament generally deem themselves precluded, under the Relief Act, from bringing the question forward; but Protestant members are not so hampered. The great Dissenting body in England could not more effectually prove the sincerity of their devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world, than by beginning at home, and agitating for the reform of the Irish Establishment.

There are many Protestants who fully share the views we have expressed, but few who are ready to act up to them, or to make a sacrifice, like Lord Macaulay, for an unpopular conviction. One thing stops their hand. The rightful claimant for the ecclesiastical property in Ireland is not the Irish nation, but the Catholic Church; and any alteration that could be devised would be either a simply revolutionary act, or it would lead to the destruction of democracy in Ireland.

Communicated Articles.

WOMEN, POLITICS, AND PATRIOTISM.

THERE are many things in M. de Falloux's charming volumes, containing Mme. Swetchine's life, and what may be called her literary remains rather than works, that claim attention and thought; but there are two letters from M. de Tocqueville touching upon a subject on which I have thought and felt much and long, and which, I think, must be of such general interest, that I should like to devote a few pages to its examination. The fact of my point of view being somewhat diverse from his, however apparently disadvantageous to me, is, in truth, my principal reason for choosing the subject. Mr. Mill has pithily observed, that no one enters on any question in a position that allows of complete and rigid impartiality; and if this be true as a general proposition, much more must it be so in particular cases, where those whose circumstances differ from the writer's are involved in some degree of blame. Still more must this be the case where the feelings of others are concerned as well as their opinions; for if it be as rare as Mr. Mill says (and few will, I think, deny it to be so) to find a man who is capable of doing justice to an adversary's opinions, far more difficult is it to meet with one who can in any way enter into the feelings of another placed in different circumstances to himself.—Mr. Froude, in his "History of the Change of Religion in England" (for such it is rather than a history of England), has attempted to do this, and the result suggests to me very vividly what must have been the feelings of fair ladies present at plays in days when women's parts were acted by boys. Doubtless the gallants at their sides may have applauded the moving grief of the mad Ophelia or gentle Desdemona; but I take it that the velvet masks of the spectatresses must have hid many a merry or satirical smile. In point of fact, perfect appreciation is not to be expected, and a very inferior mind will generally be able to state his or her case in a more persuasive, if not more convincing manner, than the superior one that states it as an objection to his own argument merely to be refuted. It was doubtless the experience of some injustice which led Margaret Lucas, Duchess of Newcastle, to aver "that it is not possible for any one person thoroughly to understand the character of another;" and the appreciation of a many-sided man only leads to the commission of more refined injustice, if it tempts him to forget—I will not say for

one moment, but habitually—that such is really the case, and that his impartiality, however great, can never be by any possibility complete. The small injustice of a great man may prejudice far more widely and deeply than the greater injustice of a smaller man, not only because he is more widely read, but also because he is more deeply revered. Let such not complain if their words are more narrowly criticised and tried by a higher standard. “*Noblesse oblige.*”

And now, having, I hope, justified myself from presumption in having undertaken a subject handled by M. de Tocqueville in a somewhat different spirit from that in which I propose to treat it, I will proceed to translate his two letters, for the convenience of those who may not be able to refer to the volumes of M. de Falloux.*

“How much I like to hear you speak so nobly of all that resembles slavery ! I quite agree with you that a more equal partition of rights and advantages throughout the world should be the highest object of those who are at the head of affairs. I should wish, however, political equality to consist in equal freedom, and not, as it is too often held to mean in our days, in equal subjection to one master. I will own to you that I had my doubts as to whether you would agree with me altogether in what I say† about the clergy of the old *régime*, and the advantage of their being bound to their country by territorial ties. Like you, I fear to dip into so wide a subject in a letter ; but I desire vividly that I may soon have the chance of one of those rare and precious hours of conversation with you, during which we can speak freely on this great question. To-day I will only touch on the sentiments which dictated my words. It seems to me there are two distinct regions, so to say, of moral law, equally important before God, but in our days taught by His ministers in very unequal proportions. The one has reference to private life—the duty of every human being in his or her private capacity of father, son, husband, or wife. The other includes the duties of every citizen towards his country, and that commonwealth of which he forms a part. Am I mistaken in thinking that the clergy of the present day occupy themselves much with the former, and but little with the latter ? It appears to me evidently the case but too generally, and most especially in the mode of thought evinced by women, whether as mothers or as wives. I see a large number of both who have a thousand private virtues, in which the direct and beneficent action of religion may be traced ; who, thanks to her influence, are faithful wives, just and indulgent mistresses to their servants, and charitable to the poor : but as to that part of their duties which refers to public life, they do not seem conscious even that such exists, and not only do they neglect this branch of duties themselves, but they even forget to inculcate it on those whom they in-

* Vol. i. pp. 454 et seq.

† In “The old Régime and the Revolution.”

fluence. It is a portion of education which they entirely ignore. Now under the old *régime* it was not so ; amongst many vices, lofty virtues were cultivated. I have often heard that my grandmother, who was a most holy and pious woman, after recommending to her youthful son the exercise of all the duties of private life, never failed to add : ‘ My son, never forget that a man owes himself before all to his country, and there are no sacrifices he should not be ready to make for its sake ; that he should never be indifferent to the common weal ; and that God requires of him that he should be ever ready to devote his time, his fortune, and even his life, should it be needed by the State and the King.’ But I perceive, madam, that I am insensibly gliding too far into the discussion of a subject which I long to discuss personally with you, as being too wide and too deep for a letter. I must, however, thank you for the quotation from Bossuet contained in your letter. I know nothing finer even in Bossuet himself. I find in this one sentence all that is calculated to elevate man, whilst retaining him in his true position : the sentiment of his greatness, as well as of the greatness of God. It is noble and it is humble. Where did you find it, madam ? I did not recognise this admirable passage.”

Tocqueville, October 20, 1856.

“ I assure you, madam, that I am by no means tempted to use the permission you give me not to answer your letters ; the mere desire of provoking another would suffice to determine me to write. Reading your letters is in truth so great a pleasure to me, that even my laziness cannot deter me from endeavouring to deserve new ones.

You put before me in your last, thoughts, equally true and well expressed, upon the inevitable darkening of the idea of political duty in times such as ours, troubled, unstable, and revolutionary ; and upon the difficulty inherent in such times of applying the rules of conscience to the conduct of human affairs. You would be abundantly right had I suggested the counselling or forbidding of any certain course of conduct or definite doctrine of government ; but it was not this I meant. I think that in this, as in whatever concerns human actions, there is, beyond special rules individually applicable, a general principle of action to inculcate, a sentiment to encourage, a certain direction of ideas, and wills to foster and promote. Assuredly, I do not ask those priests to whom education is intrusted, and who exercise influence over their pupils, to impress on such as a duty to support either a republic or a monarchy ; but I own that I should be glad if they would place more vividly before their hearers the fact, that they belong to one of those great human associations established by God, doubtless to render more sensible the bonds which unite individuals to one another,—associations which form peoples, whose territory is their fatherland. I should wish that pains were taken to plant deeply in souls the conviction, that each one owes himself to the community in the first place ; that it can never be permissible to any one to feel indifferent to the com-

mon welfare, far less to elevate such indifference into a sort of indolent virtue, which enervates some of the noblest instincts of our nature ; that all are responsible for whatever happens; and that all, according to their lights, are bound to labour for the prosperity of their country, and to guard its liberties against all authority that is not beneficent, respectable, and legitimate. I know that some have inferred from the Gospel of the week before last, that a Christian's duty consists in simply obeying established authorities irrespectively of their merits. Allow me to believe that this is rather in the interpretation than in the text itself, and that the public virtue of a Christian needs something beyond. Without doubt, Christianity can exist under any government, and even find occasion for the practice of admirable virtues under the action of bad institutions ; but, if I mistake not, it by no means follows that it should bring on insensibility and indifference to such a state of things, nor can it fail to impose on each one the duty of combating courageously, by all legitimate means, the evils of a bad government. Such are the principles I should wish to see impressed on men, and, I will add, women. Nothing has struck me more in my tolerably long experience of public affairs than the influence exerted by women, an influence all the greater for being indirect. I doubt not that it is they who give to each nation a certain moral temperament, which afterwards manifests itself in politics. I could cite by name many instances and examples which would illustrate this opinion. I have seen a hundred times in the course of my life men show great public virtues, because they happen to have had near them the strengthening sympathy of a woman to support them on their way, not by counselling special acts, but by exercising a general fortifying influence on their general methods of thought, whether regarding duty or even ambition. But I must own that far oftener have I seen the operation of a domestic influence brought to bear upon a man to whom nature had given generosity, disinterestedness, and magnanimity, and transform him by degrees into an ambitious coward, vulgar and selfish, who finished by looking on the affairs of his country simply in the light of ministering to the furtherance of his own personal ease and comfort. And how was this? Merely by the daily contact of an excellent woman, a faithful wife, a good mother of a family ; but in whom the grand idea of political duty, in its most active and elevated sense, had been always, not struggled against, not smothered, but *ignored*."

I wish now to make a few remarks on the position of priests, women, and the very poor under modern forms of government. These letters of M. de Tocqueville furnish me with a good introduction to such a subject, and I think I can show many reasons for the state of feeling so delicately sketched in them.

A slight examination of the complex feelings and ideas which make up patriotism will show any thoughtful person

that the grounds of patriotism in priests, women, and the very poor, are principally devotedness, loyalty, and feelings of duty, and associations and memories, domestic and religious—in other words, principle and sentiment. Political power, territorial possessions, personal stake in the country, career for talents and energies, pride, and *esprit de corps*,—all these belong only indirectly or exceptionally to the classes I have named.

Now, I would point out that, whilst modern modes of thought and civilisation, newspapers, and other agencies, combine to excite these exclusively masculine elements of patriotism to a high pitch, and to render notoriety, as Dr. Newman well observes, one of the strongest motive powers of the nineteenth century, precisely the opposite effect has occurred with the more feminine elements of patriotism. Loyalty is ignored or sneered at by the majority of our writers; devotedness must be necessarily held cheap in an age whose great maxim is to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. Religion is divorced from government, and political morality no longer seeks, even in theory, to combine principle and practice; whilst associations and memories are necessarily weakened by the spread of intelligence, the cosmopolitan influences of rapid travelling and the knowledge of foreign languages, by the dying-out of ancient local customs and costumes, and the consequent weakening of national prejudices—in fine, by all the tendencies of the age. I am far from wishing to complain of all this. It is absolutely impossible to combine opposite advantages; and religious toleration itself, even without other causes, must necessarily tend to separate religion from the State, which thereby loses one of its mightiest sources of power. Such a power as Greece or Rome wielded over the souls of men by the idea of the *res publica* can never again be called into action. Much of it doubtless existed by virtue of the materials for Christianity inherent in the human mind. The leading men of those countries made use of these feelings to sanctify, in the eyes of the masses, bonds in which they themselves often did not believe, but without which those boasted polities of Greece and Rome would soon have crumbled into ashes. The priests were bulwarks of the State, and contributed the element of religious conservatism, and the sanctifying influence of authority, in direct aid of the civil power. Again, the literary greatness of Greece and Rome was intimately bound up with their political greatness; the meanest soldiers furthered the renown of Plato and Homer, Cicero and Virgil. Though political greatness is

not necessary for the birth of genius, yet its growth and expression depend in a great measure on the same combinations of circumstances which promote national greatness; and the literature of a conquered race slips naturally and rapidly into oblivion, except under exceptional conditions. Poets and philosophers then encouraged the religious and conservative ideas of the people, partly, no doubt, because they felt their beauty, but chiefly because they saw their use; and it was only a rude retributive justice when the Athenian democracy made Socrates drink the hemlock for undermining them.

I do not think such a civilisation possible now. Who will believe in England or France as Romans believed in Rome? Would-be leaders there will ever be in plenty, possibly; but where will be the masses, without whom leaders are of very little importance? Who will be led, and, above all, who will be sacrificed? Greece and Rome had at their disposal the religious feelings of man, which were seeking an outlet, and which found that outlet in the intimate alliance of religious and patriotic sentiment. But now things are altogether different. The German emperors in the middle ages tried to succeed Constantine and Charlemagne, but it was too late. England and Russia made a "royal road" to the effort of combining Church and State, by localising the former, and giving up in effect all pretensions to catholicity in the sense of universality. In England the power of the State is gradually passing from the hands of the aristocracy to those of the people, and the Church is in effect a creature of the State. It may be said to be in chancery. No doubt the temporary success of the scheme was one of the great causes of the greatness of England. The faith in it is the faith regretted by Carlyle, Kingsley, and Arnold; but, then, are these writers willing to pay the price? Do they not rather consent to the Church being bound to the State, whilst the latter acknowledges no obligations?—a theocracy without a God, or rather in which God is treated like a constitutional monarch, who reigns but who does not govern, in whose name public opinion legislates, and its flatterers guide the helm, and to whom no one is inclined to sacrifice more than the Judaical observance of a weekly Sabbath.

Now in the middle ages men made to themselves a definite idea of life, in which politics, law, duty, and honour formed theoretically a whole, presided over by theology,—often very faulty, no doubt,—with the largest uses of the widest casuistry they could command; but still a whole in

which women could sympathise, because, for the first time in history, men and women were bound by the same laws. M. Guizot, whilst ridiculing the idea that the important part played by women in the middle ages had its origin in the respect paid to women by the Teutonic nations, goes on to say,* that "their importance arose from the progress and preponderance of domestic manners, and that preponderance became at an early period an essential character of feudal life." But the question is, why did it become so? Simply, in my opinion, for the reason I have mentioned above. To take a particular instance. Could such results have been expected if Philip Augustus had been allowed to repudiate Ingeburga because he fell in love with another woman? I do not suppose human nature was different to what it is now, and I feel very certain that the romance of chivalry was a consequence of the manner in which the Church guarded the rights of women. Women in pagan days had occasionally rivalled men in the exercise of the masculine virtues; but now for the first time did the feminine virtues of humility, purity, courtesy, charity, and gentleness, become part of the religion of man. This union of manly and womanly virtues was the consequence of the unity of law, for duties and rights imply one another in the long-run; and virtues will be sure to gain influence in time, unless forcibly detached from intellect, as was the case amongst the ancient Greeks, and is so in Japan at the present day. Such is indeed the logical development of the separation of masculine, intellectual, public virtues, and feminine, affective, private ones; and as such I would recommend it to the notice of M. Michelet.

Casuistry was another necessary consequence of the harmony of dogma and moral law, principle and practice, in the middle ages; and though not the expression of the highest form of religion in the highest natures, it was the frankest acknowledgment of a difficulty which will last as long as the world, and the most honest which the world has ever yet seen. The modern method is an attempt to combine the widest latitude of practice with the credit of religious sentiments so exalted as to be altogether impracticable. It must be very easy to bear blame which is shared by all the advocates of progress throughout the world, when administered, as it generally is, by a writer proud of representing "progress," and at a time in which solid interests are so very sure to carry the day against vague sentimentalism. Women are

* Quoted by Mill, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 262.

now allowed to nurse the most religious sentiments, provided that these remain practically inoperative in curtailing the comforts and profits of men. The wife's share in the domestic firm seems to be, to "do" the religious sentiment in a manner consistent with comfort; and I do not wonder that it should strike Mr. Carlyle that a saint like St. Elizabeth of Hungary must have been an uncomfortable wife. But, then, he forgets that comfort was not the *dernier mot* of life in the middle ages. They had an ideal of heroism just as they had an ideal of religion, even when incapable of practising either. But now, with a few rare and noble exceptions, one seldom meets a man who has harmonised his idea of life in this world with that of life in the next. One thinks Christianity and Catholicity adverse to liberty, a second to toleration, a third to progress, a fourth to political economy, a fifth to science, a sixth to material prosperity, a seventh to honour, an eighth to respectability, a ninth to physical development, and this, for the most part, vaguely, without caring to work it out one way or the other. What wonder that women should instinctively refuse to be bound by a creed of odds-and-ends, which is not even in harmony with itself, by the morality of men's clubs, and the politics of their newspapers? There is nothing in all this to command the enthusiasm of women, who hold a law from above binding on men and women alike, and who feel well enough that it was this one fact of joint responsibility to one law with men which raised them from being the slaves into being the partners of men. I am well aware that the religious separation of men and women, which is, I contend, the root of much of their political separation, is not yet so complete in England as in France or Germany. English gentlemen do not as yet generally say that Christianity and Catholicity are good for women and children; it is "bad taste" even amongst those who secretly believe it. But, I would ask, is the difference so very great between the fact, as expressed in the following lines of *In Memoriam*, and that so familiar to readers of the *Sixième* and M. About, which may be embodied in the formula of the *épiciier*: "Ah, monsieur, la religion est une belle chose pour les femmes"? Is it greater than might be expected from the gulf which separates the genius and the gentleman from the vulgarest type of shrewd assurance?

" O thou that after toil and storm
 May'st seem to have reached a purer air,
 Whose faith has centre every where,
 Nor cares to fix itself in form ;

Leave thou thy Sister when she prays,
 Her early heaven, her happy views :
 Nor thou with shadowed hint confuse
 A life which leads melodious days.
 Her faith through form is pure as thine,
 Her hands are quicker unto good ;
 Oh, sacred be the flesh and blood
 To which she links a Truth Divine !
 See thou that countest reason ripe,
 In holding by the law within,
 Thou fail not in a world of sin,
 And even for want of such a type."

In Memoriam, xxxiii.

Perhaps Mr. Thackeray and Miss Adelaide Ann Procter are as fair types as could be selected of the difference I mean ; and I select Mr. Thackeray because he is the most devoid of humbug of any English author whose works are generally popular. Now, speaking broadly, men help women by counsel, and women help men by sympathy. And what binds men to women, and women to men, is precisely this mutual help. But let not men forget, that when they stand aloof from a law binding on the consciences of women, they are no longer in a condition to give help and counsel ; they should not, then, expect that help which they withhold. There must be reciprocity, or the relations between men and women must suffer ; and the help of counsel is as much withheld by Mr. Tennyson's imaginary friend as by the *épicier* himself, only sorrowfully, and as it were reverentially, instead of with vulgar jeering. Of course there are individual instances in which men give sympathy to their wives as well as ask it from them ; but neither in France nor in England are they numerous enough to colour strongly the thought or feeling of the age. It is idle to expect enthusiasm about mere material prosperity from those especially who have little to do in producing it. M. de Tocqueville complains that, in the majority of cases he has known, wives look on their husband's careers as mere paths to their own advancement. But, I would ask, in the name of what principle are they to be asked to encourage them to sacrifice it ? Loyalty is *rococo*, duty is compromised by doubt,—honour, then ? I answer that, for the last few hundred years, men's honour and women's have had as little in common as their religion in but too many minds. Men have defined women's honour as it suited them, and they must needs take the consequences. Besides, it is late in the day to ask women to believe in honour, and to have faith in the *religion de l'honnête homme*. The King of England who was the "first gentleman in Europe" is fresh in their memories, and there is

a *re galantuomo* now. Does the *religion de l'honnête homme* so illustrated claim their enthusiasm? Does it shrink from treachery, cruelty, lying, and political dishonesty? I am at a loss to know in what respect it is binding. The truth is, that in an age like the present, when few men appear to have definite notions of the boundaries of moral and political obligations, they appear at least to be mainly led by the necessity of prompt action, the stress of urgent calls upon their energy, the impulses of activity, rather than any definite and ordered principle. Archdeacon Hare seems to think it clear that the simple fact of ill-health, and consequent inactivity, was the sufficient cause of Mr. Sterling's secession from the Church of England: as if action replaced thought, instead of presupposing it. Once embarked in a course, the energy of exertion, *esprit de corps*, good and noble impulses of activity, as well as pride, self-interest, and obstinacy, may and can help a man on. But these are feelings essentially personal, and cannot in the least influence women, as a feeling of duty on the part of the man could and would. Nay, very often it acts on others in the very contrary direction, because the effect seems out of proportion to the cause. A French *paysanne* will not understand how her lover's being drawn by the conscription should turn him, as it often does, into a defender of the established order of things; she might bow to a conviction of duty, but not to what seems to her the unreasonable effect of mere chance. Oaths of allegiance and signatures to dogmas come to the assistance of this *esprit de corps*; and though in but too many cases these are rapidly becoming a mere occasion of perjury, they must have effect on the consciences and point of honour of many, who see that the wholesale sacrifice of personal honour to patriotism inculcated by the great majority of newspapers, which may be supposed to embody the public opinion of the moment, will be likely to result in the degradation, firstly, of personal, and, secondly, as an inevitable consequence, of national, character. Mr. Mill complains in one of his Essays, that "the chivalrous spirit has almost disappeared from books of education;" but, I would ask, how can it be otherwise when a *Liborio Romano* is held up to public admiration, and it is looked upon as a necessity that religion and honour be divorced from practical life and common sense; when doubt is regent till the coronation of success, and when the substitute for casuistry is to be found in the personal irresponsibility of the law of partnership; so that the *beau idéal* of an *honnête homme* is to be sleeping partner in a firm with a sharper and a filibuster, an attorney and a bravo?

There is in England at least a higher class than these who divorce duty itself entirely from religion. The late Duke of Wellington may be taken as their type,—which is, indeed, the old Roman one, which held that patriotism was the sole duty of man. Were such a creed as this to be generally held, the condition of women would soon relapse into that they occupied in pagan Rome; but there is little danger of such a consummation. Perhaps the most important proof of the unsettled state of men's minds, as regards principles and practice, is to be found in the different weights and measures accorded to the spiritual and temporal. It is useless to enumerate examples which must occur to every one; but I must observe how unjustly the *tu quoque* argument is despised in England. It appears to me that its purport is utterly misunderstood, either purposely or from the habitual love of compromises and legal fictions, so graphically described by Mr. Mill in his Essay on the French Revolution of 1848: it is of little matter from which cause, since the consequence is the same,—*i. e.* of looking on a *tu quoque* argument as a mere manœuvre to escape discussing principles. Now it seems to me that the principle involved is simply the greatest question of the age, and that is, whether there is a possibility of legislating on definite principles of compromise between believers and non-believers, or whether the former are to acquiesce in a system which turns the tables on them, and which, whilst legislating for the sole material prosperity of its subjects, insists on its right of dispensing, for temporal objects, with laws which it holds to be binding where spiritual ones are concerned. If this is to be granted, the inevitable consequence must be, that the monopoly of government will fall into the hands of unbelievers, who will in the long-run be enabled to outbid Protestants, as Protestants are now able to outbid Catholics. In the mean time, the loyalty of the Catholic subjects of Protestant States is a temporary disadvantage to the Catholic faith, as their example is not likely to be followed by the Protestant subjects of Catholic powers, who, from the days of the French Huguenots to those of the Protestant subjects of Austria, appear incapable of throwing in their lot with that of the majority of their fellow-subjects. The French Huguenots were constantly applying to foreigners; the German Protestants called in the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus; the Hungarian Calvinists more than once swore fealty to the Porte, and aided the Turks in their two sieges of Vienna; nay, even the English Revolution of 1688 would probably have failed, but for William's Dutch army, whose honesty he could rely on. Catho-

lics, on the other hand, have always been divided into parties, and the majority of them have generally sided with their countrymen, and against their co-religionists; so that whilst the penal laws in England and Ireland were severe enough to justify revolt in the eyes of some, they failed to do so in those of others: a religion of dogma and obligation must necessarily fail in exciting unity of political action, because it addresses itself to men's consciences rather than to their prejudices. Temporary religions suit particular eras and particular countries more exactly than can one which is required to fight against opposite ideas in different centuries and nations. During the last 300 years, when loyalty was in fashion, Catholics were somewhat in the position of Cordelia,—they were never allowed to have proved their loyalty till it came, through fines and confiscations, to the battle-field, the axe, and the gibbet. Now loyalty is at a discount, and another power in fashion; and the same accusation is renewed of want of devotion to the new monarch.

Protestantism at the present moment is deriving great advantages from the office of mediator and arbiter between Catholicity and infidelity; but such an advantage must be necessarily temporary. M. de Tocqueville was himself an example (no more striking one could be adduced) of the onerous conditions imposed by Protestant on Catholic statesmen. The Roman expedition was an instance in which he refused to accede to the monstrous pretension on the part of Protestant States, and especially England, of the monopoly of self-dispensation from what are allowed to be general rules. Malta and the Ionian Islands are there to prove the power of self-dispensation claimed by England from principles which she would fain see absolutely and imperatively binding on others. However much Englishmen affect to despise the *tu quoque* argument, they render a practical homage to its power by selecting the one instance in which a departure from general rules is of importance to the Catholic Church, very well knowing that this is the only one which would not be received with derision by foreign states, and sure that in this one instance they will receive the active coöperation of foreign unbelievers, ever ready as these are to join with any ally against her whom they consider their arch-enemy. Sooner or later, the time must come when either Catholics must be allowed the same liberty as others, or, in its turn, Catholicity appear as the representative of human freedom, against the claims of its opponents to the monopoly of the right of the suppression of Catholic newspapers, the confiscation of the property of Catholic communities, the monopoly of the right

of education, of intervention, of separation, or of unification. Till this reaction occur, or a definite rule of compromise be adopted, it is vain to expect, from the mere possession of land by the Catholic clergy of France, or of any other country, fruits that could only be expected from far wider and more comprehensive causes.

The middle ages raised women, but they failed in raising the whole class below nobility. The nineteenth century ignores all who have no political power; and priests, women, and the very poor, come under this category. The saying that a vote is a trust has been much admired; but, after all, it is but claiming for the governing power the right once claimed by kings. People seem to forget that, to those whose interests are thus intrusted without their own coöperation, the difference is comparatively slight, whether it be a king or a house of other people's representatives which demands their trust. As regards priests, the persecutions to which the Jesuits have been subjected, "for meddling in politics," are a plain proof that the discretion which leads priests nowadays to ignore politics has not been without cause. Opposing virtues are the highest education of man, but they are also the most rare and the most difficult to unite; and it seems to me somewhat unjust to claim at the same time abnegation and enthusiasm. Where there is the widest career for the former, one can scarcely expect a simultaneous growth of the latter. Confiscation, banishment, and the denial of the rights of association, must be of more importance than a mere palliative, such as is spoken of by M. de Tocqueville. Justice is more prized than a favour, which, without the former, would degenerate into a bribe. As regards women and the helpless poor, I am strongly disposed to think that a system of representation in which they have no share will be apt to become, to a certain degree, a matter of indifference to them. A government which rests on public opinion must resolve itself, in the present complex state of religions, nationalities, opinions, &c. into an adroit combining of opposite interests and prejudices; and this is little likely to excite enthusiasm in those whose interests and opinions carry little weight. Under a theocracy, women and paupers are of importance as souls; in a representative government, they are political zeros. The Mortara case rang through Europe, because the victim to the law was a man and a well-to-do burgher, and he who enforced it the Pope. Forcible proselytism is winked at in the British Islands; but, then, the aggrieved parents are women or paupers, and it is done in the name of ratepayers and voters. True

it is that a fair settlement of so complicated a subject is very difficult; still when women see the utter indifference shown by professed Liberals to the most glaring violations of personal liberty, whilst these attack only the rights of priests, religious orders, paupers, or women,—because these are no longer politically important,—what wonder that they do not believe in the love of liberty of such Liberals? What wonder that they should lose sympathy with those who appear no longer capable of themselves affording sympathy to aught but the triumphant and the successful,—who value only a grievance when it comes in the guise of political capital? The Irish State Church is there to prove how far such is the case in England. No one defends it, but it is guarded by the constitution from being made “political capital” of. The consequence is, it is ignored.

And now, having detailed what strikes me as the main causes of the state of feeling alluded to by M. de Tocqueville, I will only add that I have merely attempted to place in relief the side that is oftenest ignored. I pretend neither to have done so completely nor impartially. If any one thinks my facts unfair, or my inferences strained, let me beg him not to overlook what may be true in substance because he may dislike the manner in which it is stated, or the feeling in which it is discussed. This is an age in which no grievance is believed in which does not make itself heard; and had any one else taken it up from my point of view, I had remembered the maxim, that whilst “speech is silver, silence is golden.”

F. H.

EDMUND CAMPION.—No. II.

If it had been to any authority that had the right to inquire into his theological opinions, and not to a mere company of London tradesmen, ridiculously erecting themselves into a tribunal of orthodoxy, that Campion excused himself from acknowledging his opinions, on the plea of being “a public person, charged with the education of divers worshipful men’s children,” it might have been inferred that he strangely inverted the values of his duty as a minister and his duty as a professor. And the inference would not have been far wrong; he was disgusted with himself for having accepted the Anglican diaconate, and wished to forget it, and to live as a simple layman. But in the cause of education and of letters his enthusiasm never for a moment slackened; he strenuously

recommended his pupils to complete the whole circle of sciences; "not to deliquesce into sloth, nor to dance away their time, nor to live for rioting and pleasure; but to serve God, to bridle their passions, to give themselves up to virtue and learning, and to reckon this the one great, glorious, and royal road." To one of his scholars, Richard Stanihurst, who two years after his matriculation at Oxford had published a commentary on Porphyry, he was quite dithyrambic in his congratulations, and in his "triumph that their university should possess a youth of Stanihurst's rank, learning, and goodness, capable almost in his teens of competing with able men in maturity." "Proceed," he said, "with the same pains and toil, bury yourself in your books, complete your course, abjure the snares of vice, keep your mind on the stretch, give yourself to your country, strive for the prizes which you deserve." He anticipated a splendid future for such precocious attainments, when they had been matured and completed by methodic study; when "wit had been mellowed with judgment, judgment with wisdom, and wisdom with age." "Only persevere," he said; "do not degenerate from what you are, nor suffer the keen edge of your mind to grow dull and rusty. I speak thus warmly, not because I mistrust you, but because it is my duty to be anxious for the fame of men like you."

When he finally left Oxford, it was not because he was weary of a university life, but because the opposition to his way of thinking was becoming too strong, and at the same time because he thought he saw an opening for a wider career in Dublin. The new religion was daily gaining ground at the English university, the whole machinery of which was in the hands of men who were both able and desirous to make it the stronghold of the rising Puritanism. But at Dublin, the old university, which had been commenced by Pope John XXI. at the prayer of Alexander Bigmore, the Archbishop, and which, as Campion tells us, had kept its terms and commencements solemnly, and had been never disfranchised, but only through variety of time discontinued, and now, since the subversion of monasteries, utterly extinct, was to be begun anew: a motion was made in the parliamentary session of 1570 to erect it again. The chief mover in this restoration was the Recorder of Dublin and Speaker of the House of Commons, James Stanihurst, the father of Campion's pupil, and at that time a zealous Catholic. Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, was owned by Father Parsons to be "a very honourable, calm, and civil gentleman, nothing hot in the new religion, but rather a great friend to

Catholics;" and Dr. Weston, the Lord Chancellor, was delated to the Privy Council in England by Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop, for his lack of zeal in promoting the Gospel. The career which the constant supervision of the Privy Council, and the puritanical zeal of such men as Horn, Bishop of Winchester, and Tobie Mathew, was fast closing against Campion at Oxford, seemed to him to be opening with better auspices at Dublin. Thither, therefore, with the approbation of the Earl of Leicester, he betook himself, in company with Richard Stanihurst; and arrived there on St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 25, 1569, according to Parsons; or rather 1570, for his letter to Richard Stanihurst was written from St. John's College in December 1569. He was cordially received by his pupil's father, and domiciled in his house, where he is said to have lived a kind of monastic life, and to have exhibited such purity and modesty of demeanor, that the Dublin people called him "the angel." Here he employed himself partly "in exercises of learning with Richard Stanihurst, and in controversies against the heretics of that time," and partly in setting forth his ideal of what a university education should be. He wrote a discourse, *De Homine Academico*, which has not survived in its original form, but in the still more valuable shape of an oration, written when his views had been corrected by his submission to the Church, and pronounced in the presence of Dr. Allen, the founder of our Douai seminary, and of all the professors and miscellaneous students of that model institution. I shall not scruple to depart a little from the order of time, and to quote this oration in this place, where the subject leads me to speak of Campion's views on education.

In the first place, then, his ideas on this subject were not changed by his submission to the Church; he imported into her what he had learned outside her, without any material alterations. "I will try," he says, "out of my observations made during many years, in many places, and on many minds,—out of what I have learned in a wide and varied intercourse with men,—to make a kind of pencil sketch of the university man." His sketch was not intended merely for the lay ideal, but for that of the ecclesiastical student, whose education, "up to his twenty-third year, when he begins his theology," is placed before us in a model whose different members are all culled from real examples, and which, though perhaps as a whole unattainable by any individual, is yet the ideal towards which all should strive, according to their various powers. It is to be noticed that he does not set up two models; one by which some select

ecclesiastics should be duly prepared to cope with the great questions of the day, in a manner which it would be absurd to suppose a seminary capable of instructing them, and another model, which should be that of the seminaries intended to fit the students for work among the poor and illiterate, on the principle that, most men being uneducated, and only the few refined, accomplished, and large-minded, the clergy in general should be trained, not on the model of the few, but so as best to meet the capacities and characteristics of the many; a principle which itself assumes that refinement unfits for rough work, that boors can best teach boors, and that "who drives fat oxen should himself be fat." On the contrary, Campion proposed one single model to the students at Douai, themselves drawn from every class of life, and earnestly exhorted all of them, without exception, to place it before their eyes as the real aim of their studies; though at the same time he bade them not be disheartened if they failed, because almost all must fail more or less, scarcely any one could quite attain the first place: "but he that falls short of it has not therefore failed; he may still be an excellent academician though he has not gained the first prize. There are lower seats of honour, even though the consul's chair, or the prince's throne, is not gained. . . . Therefore," he says to the college students, "with great courage and great hope strive in this literary contest, that you may approach as near to the likeness of our model youth as our times and circumstances will permit." The various requirements of the priesthood were not to be met by educating the young men for their various employments, some in one way, some in another. All were to have the benefit of the best form of education, and their future course was to be determined, not by the differences of the schools where they were brought up, but by their various proficiency in the realisation of the one model of excellence proposed to all.

As it is necessary for the orator to take account of all the external circumstances which might conduce to the efficiency of his ideal youth, he begins with his social and personal advantages. He is supposed to be "rich, gently nurtured, of knightly stature, healthy, and muscular,"—according to Sir Thomas More's fancy, who always wished that any particularly handsome man he saw might be a priest, because he would make so impressive a show at the altar. Moreover, his mind is supposed to be "subtle, hot, and clear; his memory happy; his voice flexible, sweet, and sonorous; his walk and all his motions lively, gentlemanly, and subdued; and the whole man seeming a palace fit for wisdom to dwell in." He is supposed to have been born of Catholic parents,

and to have learned his religion with his alphabet. To have been taught, not by a hedge schoolmaster, but by one of the great scholars of the day, whose method had become a second nature to the pupil. His pronunciation was especially cared for in his boyhood, and when he grew older he easily acquired the nice turns of eloquence. His first years at school were devoted to Latin, to the rudiments of Greek, and to a mastery over his native tongue, in which he had to write verses and epigrams. His other accomplishments were painting, playing the lute, singing at sight, writing music with facility and correctness, quickness in summing, readiness in answer, and practice in writing.

In the school of philosophy he had become a good debater, and had devoured most of the works of Cicero. He had enlarged his knowledge of Greek, and had become a finished, even an inspired, poet; "so did he poise his iambics, so lightly did his lyrics leap." And these gifts were set off and made lovely by a simple, open, and tractable nature, and a true inclination to piety.

These studies carried him to his sixteenth year. In the next seven years he completed his course of philosophy, he finished Latin oratory, and studied the eloquence of the Greeks. He read all histories, those of his own country, then the Roman, then the Greek, and lastly the annals of other nations. Moral and political philosophy he studied, chiefly in Aristotle and Plato. He ran through mathematics, and learned all that he judged useful for his purpose out of every subject of science. This variety was so methodised that it involved no confusion or hesitation; he was at once "a perfect poet, and an orator that seemed to have digested and assimilated Cicero; a logician who could refute Chrysippus, and yet so perfect in physics as to deserve the title of oracle of nature; so deep in history, and so ready at all points, that he seemed to know every thing. And he had attained this position, not by the precocity, but by the fertility and fullness, of his talents; by the use of excellent masters, of a well-stored library, and of continual industry,—by labour in learning, method in labouring, and constancy in his method."

I am only collecting the intellectual characteristics of Campion's model. It must be understood that he insists on the collateral necessity of moral virtues in as great perfection as the mental attainments. But these traits I leave out, as common to all serious writers on education. The only two precepts of intellectual and literary abstinence that I find are the following: "He did not stuff himself with promiscuous reading, nor burden himself with the carcasses of books. He did not dull himself with unseasonable vigils, but allowed him-

self seven hours for sleep at night. He washed thoroughly, and dressed carefully, before he began his studies, at which he always stood, in his own solitary cell." In general literature there was one subject which he always avoided: he was "a poet who had never written and never read amatory compositions"—those loose and profligate writings, the object of which is, not to inform, but to excite evil passions, and of which the type is Ovid's "Art of Love." But he had not avoided the great masters of literature on account of the incidental allusions to this matter; and in Campion's days there were no emasculated editions specially for the young. He had at his fingers' ends "the majesty of Virgil, the festal grace of Ovid, the rhythm of Horace, and the buskined speech of Seneca." He was an orator who knew how to tickle, or to strike, or to astonish, or to convince; an historian who knew the matter in detail, geographically and chronologically, and in its unity; a good Grecian; a dialectician capable of appreciating, distinguishing, and illuminating all he touched; a philosopher familiar with the deepest secrets of nature; an astronomer who could read off the solar system like a book; and in his last year he became a good Hebrew scholar.

During all this time his religious exercises had included not only the assistance at sermons and catechisms, but private conferences with theologians, and the perusal of contemporary Catholic authors, especially those who treated of the disputed doctrines in a pure and clear style. Thus he had acquired a knack of religious controversy, and an insight into the principles of heresy, that enabled him to repel with facility, knowledge, and intelligence, whatever attack was made upon his religion.

With respect to his moral attitude towards his fellow-students, Campion makes his model youth eager to bestow his friendship on any schoolfellow who was despised for his poverty or obscurity of birth, but honourable for his virtues. He was always on the watch for opportunities to do a kindness to his companions, to look after their condition, to help them in their lessons, to mend their pens, to call them to the class, to visit them in the infirmary, and to talk pleasantly to them. He was quiet and smooth in speech, nimble and abandoned at play, collected and serious at study, gentle and civil to all, and very respectful to his elders. He was severe in his judgment upon himself, lenient to others; he found somewhat to praise in every thing, and never gave a simple censure. Yet he always maintained the principle that kindness should be kept clear of flattery, and truth defecated from bitterness.

And among the motives by which Campion urges each hearer to follow this model, we find not only the good he would do to himself, to his companions, and to the Church, but the figure which he would make in his country. He invokes not only religion, but patriotism, to enforce his teaching. And it is certain that education was the great "social science" of the sixteenth century, and that schoolmasters and scholars then held the position which in these days has been occupied by the princes of physical science and discovery. The restoration of learning was felt to be the great present want of the world. The most pious Popes and prelates, and the most far-sighted politicians and princes, were unanimous in this conviction. Campion had devoted himself head and heart to the movement, in which he saw nothing bad except the attitude of hostility which in some quarters it had assumed towards the Church. But this, he was convinced, was a mere accident, utterly inadequate to throw a doubt on the intrinsic value and excellence of learning itself. Hence, instead of disparaging it because of its abuse, he only showed himself more enthusiastic in his endeavours to convert it to its legitimate use. In one of his historical writings he mentions with complacency the revival of the "salutary knowledge of the three tongues," and the consequent disrepute into which "the subtleties of the old theologians and grammarians" had fallen; and while lamenting the "evils which the young students had with characteristic precipitation imported into this excellent movement," and blaming those who, after turning to the best account the leisure purchased for them by the liberality of prelates and abbots, employed their attainments to ridicule their patrons, who had paid their battel-bills, he yet saw that the only remedy was to bring the race of "ignorant ecclesiastics, simple preachers, and old-fashioned monks," to a speedy end by a radical change in their education. And how radical was the change he meditated, is abundantly shown by the ideal model which he proposed to the president, professors, and students of the great seminary at Douai, when compared with the picture which Erasmus draws of the ecclesiastical education of his day.

Campion had hoped to become a pioneer of Irish "civility" in the new University at Dublin; but the scheme failed. Though contributions were laid together, Sir Henry Sidney proffering 20*l.* in lands, and 100*l.* in money, and others following after their abilities and devotions; though Master Ackworth had devised a new name for it—Plantolinum, from Plantagenet, or Bulleyne, in honour of Elizabeth's mother; "yet while they disputed of a convenient place for it, and of

other circumstances, they let fall the principal." The chief cause of failure was the underhand opposition of the Chancellor and some of the Bishops, who did not wish to see such an institution founded by Sidney and Stanihurst, or intrusted to Campion, who, though not then received into the Church, was suspected to be a Papist, and only saved from arrest through the protection of Sidney, who secretly promised James Stanihurst that, while he was Governor, "no busy knave of them all should trouble him for so worthy a guest as Mr. Campion," and performed it most honourably while he remained in Ireland. Weston, the Irish Chancellor, wrote to Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, March 12th, 1570, that the motion for founding a university was universally well liked; yet that the device, direction, and foundation of so godly a deed was a most worthy work for so virtuous, bountiful, and careful a sovereign and prince, and would conserve to perpetual memory her Majesty's godly zeal to true religion and learning, and her merciful motherly care over her poor and rude subjects here. The work, thus taken out of the hands of the local authorities, and committed to Elizabeth, was brought to a conclusion in 1593 by the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin.

After his educational projects were finally nipped by the departure of Sidney from Dublin, March 25, 1571, Campion had to devise some other method of accounting for his absence from England. He therefore devoted ten weeks at this time to a hasty knocking together of a History of Ireland, which, read by the light of the circumstances under which it was conceived, is almost as much a pamphlet to prove that education is the only means of taming the Irish as a serious history.

The work is dedicated to his "singular good lord" and patron, Leicester, the chancellor of his university, to whom he says, that, in order that his travel into Ireland might seem neither causeless nor fruitless, he had thought it expedient, as one of his lordship's honourable charge, to yield him that poor book as an account of his poor voyage. He hoped it was not the last or the best gift he should offer; but he was sure that it had been "more full of unsavoury toil for the time than any plot of work he ever attempted." It was long before he could find a copy of "Gerald of Wales;" and what this writer left untouched he had been forced to piece out by the help of foreign writers who incidentally touched upon Ireland, and by a number of brief extracts of rolls, records, and scattered papers, to handle and lay all which together he had not in all the space of ten weeks. He con-

fesses, in his epistle to the loving reader, that, ever since his first arrival at Dublin, he, with the help of various gentlemen, had inquired out antiquities of the land. But he had no help from real Irish sources; though the native chronicles were "full fraught of lewd examples, idle tales, and genealogies, *et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia,*" yet he was persuaded he might have sucked thence good store of matter, had he found an interpreter, or understood their tongue, which is so hard that it would have required a study of more years than he could spare months. He intended his book to be only a contribution to the subject, and desired the Irish antiquaries "hereafter at good leisure to supply the want of this foundation, and polish the stone rough-hewed to their hand," which, rough as it was, would have been much worse proportioned if the author had not been helped with the familiar society and daily table-talk of James Stanihurst, who, "beside all courtesy of hospitality, and a thousand loving turns not here to be recited, both by word and written monuments, and by the benefit of his own library, nourished most effectually" the writer's endeavour.

To the ordinary reader, the most interesting parts of the work will always be those which consist of the writer's own observations upon the soil and the inhabitants of Ireland, which "lieth aloof in the West Ocean, in proportion like an egg, blunt and plain at the sides, not reaching forth to sea in nooks and elbows of land as Britain doth." From these chapters I will give some extracts, since the book is scarce, as specimens of Campion's English style, in his own day greatly admired:

"The soil is low and waterish, and includeth divers little islands, environed with bogs and marishes: highest hills have standing pools in their top. The air is wholesome, not altogether so clear and subtle as ours of England. Of bees good store; no vineyards, contrary to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors touching the land may easily be excused, as those who wrote of hearsay. Cambrensis in his time complaineth that Ireland had excess of wood, and very little champagne ground; but now the English pale is too naked. Turf and sea-coals is their most fuel. It is stored of kine; of excellent horses and hawks; of fish and fowl. They are not without wolves, and grey-hounds to hunt them, bigger of bone and limb than a colt. Their kine, as also their cattle, and commonly what else soever the country engendereth (except man), is much less in quantity than ours of England. Sheep few, and those bearing coarse fleeces, whereof they spin notable rug mantle. The country is very fruitful both of corn and grass; the grass, for default of husbandry, not for the cause alleged in Polychronicon, groweth so rank in the north parts that oftentimes it rotteth their kine. Eagles

are well known to breed here, but neither so big nor so many as books tell. . . . Horses they have, of pace easy, in running wonderful swift. Therefore they make of them great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great piece of safety. . . . I heard it verified by honourable to honourable that a nobleman offered, and was refused, for one such horse an hundred kine, five pounds lands, and an eyrie of hawks yearly during seven years . . . Only because a frog was found living in the meadows of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their overthrow. . . . Generally it is observed, the further west, the less annoyance of pestilent creatures ; the want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it lay long in question to whether realm, Britain or Ireland, the Isle of Man should pertain, the said controversy was decided, that forasmuch as venomous beasts were known to breed therein, it could not be counted a natural piece of Ireland. Neither is this property to be ascribed to St. Patrick's blessing, as they commonly hold, but to the original blessing of God, who gave such nature to the situation and soil from the beginning. And though I doubt not but it fared the better in many respects for that holy man's prayer, yet had it this condition notified hundreds of years before he was born."

With regard to the dispositions of the people, whom he divides into those of English descent and the mere Irish, he writes as follows :

"The people are thus inclined : religious, frank, amorous, ireful, sufferable, of pains infinite, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality. The lewder sort, both clerks and laymen, are sensual and loose to lechery above measure. The same, being virtuously bred up and reformed, are such mirrors of holiness and austerity, that other nations retain but a show or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement ; in which virtue and divers others how far the best excel, so far in gluttony and other hateful crimes the vicious they are worse than too bad. They follow the dead corpses to the grave with howlings and barbarous outeries, pitiful in appearance, whereof grew, as I suppose, the proverb *to weep Irish*. The uplandish are lightly abused to believe and avouch idle miracles and revelations vain and childish. Greedy of praise they be, and fearful of dishonour : and to this end they esteem their poets who write Irish learnedly, and pen their sonnets heroical, for the which they are bountifully rewarded : but if they send out libels in dispraise, thereof the gentlemen, especially the mere Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster-children, and bequeath to them a child's portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship, so beneficial every way that commonly five hundred kine and better are given in reward to win a nobleman's child to foster. They are sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any

study whereto they bend themselves, constant in travail, adventurous, intractable, kind-hearted, secret in displeasure.

Hitherto the Irish of both sorts, mere and English, are affected much indifferently, saving that in these, by good order and breaking the same, virtues are far more pregnant : in those others, by licentious and evil custom, the same faults are more extreme and odious. I say, by licentious and evil custom, for that there is daily trial, of good natures among them, how soon they be reclaimed, and to what rare gifts of grace and wisdom they do and have aspired. Again, the very English of birth, conversant with the brutish sort of that people, become degenerate in short space, and are quite altered into the worst rank of Irish rogues ; such a force hath education to make or mar."

The mere Irish are quite another people from the Anglo-Irish ; neither must it be supposed that their manners are now the same as Cambrensis describes ; indeed, Campion wishes it to be observed "how much Ireland is beholden to God for suffering them to be conquered, whereby many of these enormities were cured, and more might be, would themselves be pliable." He first notices the damnable superstition of leaving the right arm of male infants unchristened (as they say), that it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow ; and tells a story of a monk demanding of a grave gentleman who was confessing to him whether he were faultless in the sin of homicide. "He answered that he never wist the matter to be heinous before ; but being instructed thereof, he confessed the murder of five—the rest he left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no." He cites Strabo, who asserts that they ate human flesh, counted it honourable for parents deceased to be eaten by their children, and lived together promiscuously without regard to kindred. Though, since St. Patrick's days, Christianity has never ceased, yet it had but a lax hold before the conquest, especially in matrimonial matters. And this was a fault not corrected even in Campion's time :

"Yea, even at this day, where the clergy is faint, they can be content to marry for a year and a day of probation, and at the year's end to return her home upon any light quarrels, if the gentlewoman's friends be weak and unable to avenge the injury. Never heard I of so many dispensations for marriage as these men show. I pray God grant they be all authentic, and builded upon sufficient warrant."

The writer then continues the list of their old customs, their faithlessness and perjury, their oaths upon St. Patrick's staff, and the barbarous ceremonies of crowning the king of Ulster. Then he turns to "their trade at this present :"

"Clear men they are of skin and hue, but of themselves careless

and bestial. Their women are well favoured, clear coloured, fair-handed, big and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body. Their infants of the meaner sort are neither swaddled nor lapped in linen, but folded up stark naked into a blanket till they can go, and then if they get a piece of rug to cover them they are well sped. Linen shirts the rich do wear for wantonness and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves pleated—thirty yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their saffron, and learn to wash their shirts—four or five times in a year. Proud they are of long crisped glibbes, and do nourish the same with all their cunning: to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villainy.*

Shamrocks, water-cresses, roots, and other herbs they feed upon. Oatmeal and butter they cram together. They drink whey, milk, and beef-broth. Flesh they devour without bread; corn, such as they have, they keep for their horses. In haste and hunger they squeeze out the blood of raw flesh, and ask no more dressing thereto; the rest boileth in their stomachs with aqua vitæ, which they swill in after such a surfeit by quarts and pottles. Their kine they let blood, which, grown to a jelly, they bake and overspread with butter, and so eat it in lumps.

One office in the house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his lord on sleep with tales vain and frivolous, whereunto the number giveth sooth and credence. So light are they in believing whatsoever is with any countenance of gravity affirmed by their superiors, whom they esteem and honour, that a lewd prelate within these few years, needy of money, was able to persuade his parish that St. Patrick in striving with St. Peter to let an Irish Gallowglas into heaven had his head broken with the keys; for whose relief he obtained a collection.

Without either precepts or observation of congruity they speak Latin like a vulgar tongue learned in their common schools of leechcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Civil Institutions, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat prostrate, and so to chant out their lessons by piecemeal, being for the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards.

Other lawyers they have liable to certain families, which after the custom of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony, or trespass. All is redeemed by composition, except the grudge of parties seeking revenge; and the time they have

* Yet Rokeby wrote to the Lord Deputy, from Connaught, in January this year (1570), "Such as do come to us we cause to cut their g'lybbez, which we do think the first token of obedience;" and in June 1573 Perrot "caused all the Irishry to forego their glybbes, or long hair."

to spare from spoiling and proying, they lightly bestow in parlying about such matters. The Breighoon, so they call this kind of lawyer, sitteth him down on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed. They honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the country beside them. To rob and prey their enemies they deem it none offence, nor seek any means to recover their loss, but ever to watch them the like turn. But if neighbours and friends send their cators to purloin one another, such actions are judged by the Breighoons aforesaid. Toward the living they are noisome and malicious; the same being dead, they labour to avenge eagerly and fiercely. They love and trust their foster-brethren more than their own."

Then Campion descants on what was then a national vice, now happily supplanted very generally by the contrary virtue,—the vice of impurity. He concludes his sketch with the truly Irish sentence: "One man I heard named which hath (as he calleth them) more than ten wives in twenty places."

"There is among them a brotherhood of Carrows, that profess to play at cards all the year long, and make it their only occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare skin, and then truss themselves in straw or in leaves; they wait for passengers in the high way, invite them to a game upon the green, and ask no more but companions to hold them sport. For default of other stuff they pawn portions of their glybbe, the nails of their fingers and toes, . . . which they lose or redeem at the courtesy of the winner.

When they fancy and favour they are wonderful kind. They exchange by commutation of wares for the most part, and have utterly no coin stirring in any great lords' houses. Some of them be richly plated. Their ladies are trimmed rather with massy jewels than with garish apparel. It is counted a beauty in them to be tall, round, and fat. The inheritance descendeth not to the son, but to the brother, nephew, or cousin german, eldest and most valiant. For the child being oftentimes left in nonage, or otherwise young and unskilful, were never able to defend his patrimony, being his no longer than he can hold it by force of arms. But by the time he grow to a competent age, and have buried an uncle or two, he also taketh his turn, and leaveth it in like order to his posterity. This custom breedeth among them continual wars and treasons."

Campion's history, hardly longer than a pamphlet, and scarcely pretending to greater dignity than that of mere annals, is more interesting for the light that it throws upon the writer's own opinions and powers than as a contribution to general history. With much of the credulity of his day he combined a clear insight into the main principles of historical criticism; and he summarily explodes many a fable by a comparison of dates, or by showing that the various testimony

on which it rests reduces itself to a multiplied echo of a single authority. But the most striking thing about the book is the vast dramatic power of the speeches which he introduces, according to the custom of the historians of his day. The taste which we have here is sufficient to make us regret both that the tragedies which he afterwards produced at Prague were written in Latin, and that they are lost. Some of his orations only want metre to be comparable with those of his great dramatic contemporaries. Take the following for specimens. The first is a speech of Roderic, a chief of Scythian redshanks, blown with a few refugees upon the coast of Ireland, of whose king he demands hospitality:

“Not as degenerate from the courage of our ancestors, but inclining ourselves to the bent and sway of fortune, we are become suppliants to Ireland that never before have humbled ourselves to any. Look, sir king : eye us well ; it is not light prowess that has caused these valiant bodies to stoop. Scythians we are, and the Picts of Scythia—great substance of glory lodgeth in these two names. What shall I tell of the civil tumult that hath made us leave our home ? or rip up old histories to make strangers bemoan us ? Let our vassals and children discourse it at large and leisure—if perhaps you vouchsafe us any leisure in the land, to which effect and purpose our infinite necessities pray your favours—a king of a king, men of men. Princes can consider how near it concerneth their honour and surety to prop up the state of a king defaced by treason, and men will remember, nothing better beseemeth the nature of man, than to feel by compassion the griefs of men. Admit, we beseech you, these scattered relics of Scythia. If your realms be narrow, we are not many. If the soil be barren, we are born to hardness. If you live in peace, we are your subjects. If you war, we are your soldiers. We ask no kingdom, no wealth, no triumph in Ireland. We have brought ourselves, and left these casualties with the enemy. Howsoever it like you to esteem of us, we shall easily learn to like it, when we call to mind not what we have been but what we are.”

The following is a speech of an Irish king, calling upon his countrymen to complete the overthrow of the Danish invaders, begun by the assassination of the Danish chief:

“Lordlings and friends, this case neither admitteth delay nor asketh policy. Heart and haste is all in all, while the feat is young and strong, that of our enemies some sleep, some sorrow, some curse, some consult—all dismayed. Let us anticipate their fury, dismember their force, cut off their flight, occupy their places of refuge and succour. It is no mastery to pluck their feathers, but their necks ; nor to chase them in, but to rouse them out ; to weed them, not to rake them ; nor to tread them down, but to dig them up. This lesson the tyrant himself hath taught me. I once demanded him

in a parable, by what good husbandry the land might be rid of certain crows that annoyed it. He advised to watch where they bred, and to fire the nests about their ears. Go we then upon these cormorants that shroud themselves in our possessions, and let us destroy them so that neither nest, nor root, nor seed, nor stalk, nor stubb may remain of this ungracious generation."

One more extract I must give, as being an exact reproduction in English of Campion's Latin style. It is from the Earl of Kildare's defence of himself against Wolsey, who accused him of conniving at his kinsman the Earl of Desmond's treasons :

"Cannot the Earl of Desmond shift, but I must be of counsel ? Cannot he be hid, except I wink ? If he be close, am I his mate ? If he be friended, am I a traitor ? This is a doughty kind of accusation which they urge against me, wherein they are stabled and mired at my first denial. You would not see him, say they ;—who made them so familiar with mine eyesight ? Or when was the Earl within my Equinus ? Or who stood by when I let him slip, or where are the tokens of my wilful hoodwinking ? 'Oh, but you sent him word to beware of you :—who was the messenger ? where are the letters ? See how loosely this reason hangeth. Desmond is not taken ; well ; we are in fault : why ? Because you are. Who proves it ? Nobody. What conjectures ?—so it seemeth. To whom ?—to your enemies who told it them. What other ground ? None. Will they swear it ? They will swear it."

I have thought it worth while to give these specimens of an eloquence that succeeded beyond that of all contemporary rivals in transfusing the vigour and polish of Cicero into a language that was only struggling into form. Campion's fame in England was built upon his eloquence ; and it is only by the speeches of this Irish History, which his scholar Stanihurst calls "tickled-tongued," because its author "did learn it to speak," and by the report of his defence at his trial, that we can estimate a power which appears to have swayed all who listened to him.

He finishes his History with two speeches, which he professes to report from his own notes, as near as he could, in the same words and sentences in which he heard them. They are the speeches of James Stanihurst, Speaker of the Commons, and of Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord-Deputy, at the prorogation of the Parliament, December 12, 1570. I must quote so much of them as refers to the project of the Dublin University, and the subsidiary schools which were to be founded in every diocese :

"Surely, says James Stanihurst, might one generation sip a little of this liquor, and so be induced to long for more, both our

countrymen that live obeysant, would ensue with a courage the fruits of peace whereby good learning is supported ; and our unjust neighbours would find such sweetness in the taste thereof as it should be a ready way to reclaim them. In mine experience, who have not yet seen much more than forty years, I am able to say that our realm is at this day an half deal more civil than it was, since noblemen and worshipful with others of ability have used to send their sons to England to the Law, to Universities, or to Schools. Now when the same schools shall be brought home to their doors that all that will may repair unto them, I doubt not, considering the numbers already brought up beyond the seas, and the good already done in those few places where learning is professed, but this addition, discreetly made, will foster a young fry, likely to prove good members of this commonwealth, and desirous to train their children in the same way. Neither would it be a small help to the assurance of the crown of England, when babes from their cradles should be inured under learned schoolmasters with a fine English tongue, habit, fashion, discipline, and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken borderers, who possibly might be won by this example, or at the least wise lose the opportunity which now they have to infect others. And seeing our hap is not yet to plant an University here at home, . . . me seemeth it is the more expedient to enter so far forth as our commission reacheth, and to hope for the rest.”

The portion of Sidney’s reply that related to the schools and university is as follows :

“ To you belongeth the quickening of this godly statute. . . Show yourselves forward and frank in advancing the honour, wealth, ease, and credit of your counties ; envy not to your posterity the same path that yourselves have trodden. . . . Had your opinions matched with mine concerning the University . . . no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have been a spur to these erections (the Schools), as nurses for babes to suck in till they might repair thither to be weaned. But I trust your consents therein are only suspended for a time, and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate. What though certain imperfections cannot as yet be salved ? What though a sum arise not to make a muster of colleges the first day ? What though the place be not also commodious ? What though other circumstances infer a feeble and raw foundation ? These are indeed objections of the multitude, whose backwardness breedeth an unnecessary stop in this our purpose. But your wisdoms can easily consider that time must ripen a weak beginning ; that other Universities began with less, that all experience telleth us so ; —shall we be so curious or so testy that nothing will please us but all in all, all-absolute, all-excellent, all-furnished, all-beautified, all-fortified in the frame and infancy thereof ? I remember a tale of Apuleius his ass, who being indifferently placed between two bottles of hay, because he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both. Let us not so do, but content ourselves by little and little to be fed as the case requireth.”

But Campion was not allowed to finish his History in peace. Though not yet reconciled to the Church, he lived openly as a Catholic, and Dr. Weston, the Lord Chancellor, and the other high commissioners, had therefore resolved to apprehend him; but, as the persecution was not then very rigorous, they were stayed for a time by the authority and credit of his friends, especially of Sidney. But the years 1569 and 1570 were most disastrous both to the present and future of the English Catholics. The ill-advised and worse-contrived rebellion of the North had failed, and Elizabeth's ministers had behaved as men usually do when recovering from a crisis of great danger and greater terror. The queen had been further exasperated by the declaratory bull of St. Pius V., which Felton had pasted up on the Bishop of London's gates on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1570. It was becoming clear to Elizabeth's advisers that her political salvation required the destruction of Mary of Scotland; and they and the queen were egging-on the Duke of Norfolk to his treason, for which he lost his life. And now the attention of the Court was especially turned to the designs of Spain upon Ireland. The French ambassador learnt in London, early in January 1571, that Philip II. had submitted to the Pope, as suzerain of the island, the tender of the Irish crown, made to him by Stukeley in the name of the people, who were anxiously looking for him; that the Pope had bidden him God-speed, on condition of his reëstablishing the Catholic religion; and that 10,000 men were to be sent over. Before February 12th, Elizabeth had written to Sidney to stay his departure, and to order him to provide for the defence of the country, promising to send him directly all the aid he wanted. In these circumstances, even Sidney's influence could no longer insure Campion's safety. But he did what he could; when Campion was to be seized early the next morning, Sidney warned him, by a private message at midnight, to provide for his own safety. James Stanihurst, therefore, procured him a refuge with Sir Christopher and Lady Barnewall, at Turvey, eight miles from Dublin. Richard and Walter Stanihurst conducted him through the darkness, and committed him to the hospitable care of his new hosts. This was about March 17, a week before Sidney left Ireland, "with innumerable hearty prayers and wishes for his return," to find waiting for him at Chester the queen's letter, which ordered him, too late, to remain at his post.

From Turvey, Campion wrote to James Stanihurst, March 19:

"Great is the fruit which I gather both from your affection and

from your esteem ; from your affection, that in these hard days you are as careful of me as if I had sprung, like Minerva from Jupiter, out of your head : from your esteem, because, when I was well nigh turned out from house and home, you considered me worthy not only of your hospitality, but of your love. . . . It was your generosity and goodness to receive a stranger and foreigner into your house ; to keep me all these months on the fat of the land ; to look after my health as carefully as after your son Richard's, who deserves all your love ; to furnish me with all conveniences of place, time, and company, as the occasion arose ; to supply me with books ; to make such good provision for my time of study that away from my rooms at Oxford I never read more pleasantly. After this one would think there was nothing more to come ; but there was more. As soon as I saw you heard the first rustlings of the storm which was sure to blow to a hurricane if I stayed longer in sight of the heretics at Dublin, you opened to me this secret hiding-place among your country friends. Till now, I had to thank you for conveniences ; now I have to thank you for my safety and my breath—yes ; breath is the word. For they who strive with those persecutors are commonly thrust into dismal dungeons, where they draw in filthy fogs, and are not allowed to breathe wholesome air. But now through your and your children's kindness I shall live, please God, more free from this peril, and, my mind tells me, most happily. First of all, your friend Barnewall is profuse in his promises. When he had read your letter, he was sorry for the hardness of the times, but was as glad of my coming as if I had done him a great favour. As he had to go into Dublin, he commended me to his wife, who treated me most kindly. She is surely a very religious and modest woman. I was shut up in a convenient place within an inner chamber, where I was reconciled to my books. With these companions I lie concealed in my cell."

The letter ends with compliments to Stanihurst's sons, and with a request to have his St. Bernard sent to him ; on the same day he wrote a more familiar letter to his pupil Richard :

"It is hard that, however grateful I feel, I cannot show it. But I know you neither need nor desire repayment ; so I only give you my wishes for the present ; the rest when I get back to the land of the living. Meanwhile if these buried relics have any flavour of the old Campion, their flavour is for you ; they are at your service. I am infinitely obliged to you and your brother Walter for the pains you lately took on my behalf. You, up all night ; he, torn from his wife's arms besides ! Seriously, I owe you much. I have nothing to write about, unless you have time and inclination to laugh. Tell me—you say nothing. Listen then. The day after I came here I sat down to read. Suddenly there broke into my chamber a poor old woman, who wanted to set the things to rights. She saw me on her left hand, and knowing nothing about me, she thought I was a

ghost. Her hair stood on end, her colour fled, her jaw fell, she was struck dumb. What is the matter? I asked. Frightened to death, she almost fainted; she could not speak a word; all she could do was to throw herself out of the room; she could not rest till she had told her mistress that there was some hideous thing, she thought a ghost, writing in the garret. The story was told at supper time; the old woman was sent for, and made to tell her fright; every body died of laughing, and I proved to be alive and no ghost."

March 19, I find Campion at Turvey; in May, at Dublin; and in the beginning of June, at Drogheda. All this time he was dodging the pursuivants, whom the commissioners, exceedingly offended at being beguiled of their prey, sent to search and to lay wait over all Ireland. His inexhaustible hilarity carried him well through all, and in the intervals of flight he employed himself in "huddling up in haste" the materials he had collected for his History. The observations and descriptions which I have quoted from this work show us with what reserves to admit the assertions of his biographers that he led a kind of monastic life in Ireland. He says that at Turvey he lived "as though in a cell;" and he asks for his St. Bernard. Still he was not a man like St. Bernard, who had never seen the ceiling of his room, nor the snowy mountains which overlooked a place where he had long lived. His sweetness of temper is shown not to have been incompatible with a spicing of satirical and caustic humour. His mind is shown to have been too solid to be unhinged by the revulsion which commonly accompanies a conversion. A book like this, so laborious, so clear, so genial, written in haste and hurry by a man homeless and hiding from pursuivants without, and in the turmoil of a religious change within,—turning his own house out of windows, looking into his own chest, and tumbling up and down what he found there, and yet composing as clearly and forcibly as if he had nothing else to think of,—is a sign of steadiness both of head and heart. Most men are hurried by the first blush of conversion into an abnegation of judgment which rejects no fiction in which the element of piety is strong. Campion throughout insisted upon his right of judging for himself in all matters where human judgment has course,—witness his excellent chapter on the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory, and the very decided intimations which he gives in many places of his opinions upon the policy or the lawfulness of a rebellion founded upon a Papal excommunication, and upon the validity of the Pope's claim to the suzerainty of Ireland, and the disposition of the English crown. But I shall have to return to this latter subject.

Gregory Martin, whose letter had much to do in drawing Campion from Oxford, wrote again to him in Ireland. "I remember," says Campion, "how earnestly you called upon me to come from Ireland to Douai; how you admonished me; how effectual were your words." But Campion was again as much driven as drawn. Seeing, says Parsons, that he could hardly escape the commissioners long, and must endanger his friends, he resolved to return to England in disguise. On his flight from Dublin in March he had called himself Mr. Patrick, out of devotion to the apostle of the country. By this assumed name he passed in his various wanderings and concealments, till he finally took ship at Tredah, or Tredake, a little port twenty miles from Dublin, "apparelled in a laquey's weed," as servant to Melchior Hussey, the Earl of Kildare's steward, who was then on his way to England.

As there was some suspicion that he might be on board, some officers were sent to search the ship for him. As they asked for him by name, he thought he could not escape, and his surprise was too great to allow him to take any precautions; so he stood quietly on the deck, while the officers ferreted out every nook and corner, examined the crew, tumbled the cargo up and down, with plentiful curses upon the seditious villain Campion. There he stood in his menial livery, and saw every body but himself strictly examined; while he called devoutly upon St. Patrick, whose name he had assumed, and whom, in consideration of the protection he then gave, he ever afterwards invoked in similar dangers. He escaped, but not his manuscripts. "My History of Ireland," he afterwards wrote, "I suspect has perished; it made a good-sized and neat volume; the heretical officers seized it:" but after this cross, says Richard Stanihurst, it wandered "in mitching wise" through sundry hands, till at last it was published in vol. ii. of Holingshed's *Chronicles*, in 1586, and in Sir James Ware's *Ancient Irish Histories* in 1633.

But, in spite of these crosses, as he had lamented the being forced to leave England, he was now full as sorry, says Parsons, to leave Ireland, because of the new and dear friends to whom he had become attached in that country. When the officers had finished their search, the ship was allowed to sail; and, after "an indifferent prosperous voyage," he landed in England, to miss the Irish hospitality, but not to miss that which he chiefly sought to avoid, the prying inquisitions of the queen's officers, and of the provincial Dogberries. On the east of St. George's Channel "he found," says Parsons, "nothing but fears, suspicions, arrestings, condemnations,

tortures, executions, for the risings of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and of Lord Daeres, and for the publication of the Bull. The Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned, and other great men restrained to their houses, as the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Arundel, suspected of favouring the Queen of Scots, lately arrived in England; and a new conspiracy was just discovered in Norfolk, for which Mr. John Throgmorton and others were executed in 1570. The queen and council were so troubled that they could not tell whom to trust, and so fell to rigorous proceedings against all, but especially against Catholics, whom they most feared; so that Campion could not tell where to rest in England, all men being in fear and jealousy one of another. Therefore he resolved to fly for good over sea, as he saw that there was no longer secure living for Catholics without compromising their conscience."

If it were not that the dates attached to Campion's published works are hopelessly corrupt, I might be tempted, seeing that Campion dated his History from Drogheda, June 9, 1571, to doubt Parsons' declaration, that he witnessed the arraignment and trial of Dr. Storey, which took place in Westminster Hall on the 26th of May in the same year. Even the correction of eleven days for the New Style will not help us. It may be, however, that he purposely post-dated his work, perhaps for the purpose of concealing from the officers the real time of his departure from Ireland. At any rate, Father Parsons can hardly be deceived in the fact that Campion was present at this celebrated trial; and we must overlook the minor difficulties of a few days' discrepancy in the dates.

Dr. Storey was a civilian, who had taken a prominent part in the ecclesiastical acts of the reign of Mary, and after her death had fled into the Low Countries to escape the vengeance of Elizabeth and Cecil. It was by what he had done in England, not, as Parsons supposes, by what he did in Flanders, that he had made himself obnoxious to them. "Understanding," says this writer, "that many heretical merchants who had traffic in those countries used to bring in wicked books to infect the Catholic people, he first complained, and then accepted the office of inquisitor, to search for the contraband points. On this the English heretics conspired to capture him." Cecil and Leicester contrived the plot. The King of Spain having authorised Alva to set up an office at Antwerp for the search of all English ships entering or leaving that port, one William Parker, a wool-draper and merchant, said to be a brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury,

was largely bribed by Cecil and the council to profess that he had fled from England for his faith, and to solicit Alva for the office. The duke was well pleased to have so distinguished a dependent, and, finding him qualified, he gave him the post. As soon as he was installed, he named for his assistant Dr. Storey, then living in great poverty at Louvain, with a wife and four young children, besides nephews and nieces, dependent upon him; this led him to accept the appointment, though his friends told him it was an odious office, quite unworthy of him. As soon as this was done, three agents of Cecil in the Low Countries, named Mershe, Lee, and Saltanstill, together with Parker and one Pigot, contrived that a ship, sufficiently provided, should enter the port of Antwerp, and that Dr. Storey, when visiting her for prohibited goods, should have the hatches fastened down upon him, and be carried off to England. The plot miscarried, through the indiscretion of Pigot, and the loyalty of a sailor, who informed Parker of the design, thinking that he was to be the victim. But afterwards three merchants trading to Antwerp—Roger Ramsden, Martin Bragge, and Simon Jewkes—were bribed by the council to make another attempt, and succeeded in capturing both Parker and Storey. No one but Mershe and Cecil knew of Parker's treachery; and, to keep up appearances, both men were kept prisoners, and both arraigned together in May 1571, for having traitorously comforted Richard Norton the traitor at Antwerp. But the real reason why Storey was to be put out of the way was his conduct under Queen Mary, and in Elizabeth's first Parliament, where he had said, "I see nothing that I should be sorry for; but am rather sorry that I have done no more, and that I had not more earnestly given my advice to spare the little twigs and shoots, but to strike more boldly against the roots and great branches." In plain terms, not to light fires to burn costermongers and cobblers, but to make examples of such tall plants as the Lady Elizabeth and Sir William Cecil.

Campion, says Parsons, heard Storey prove "that he had committed nothing treasonable or punishable in going to Flanders, and living under a prince who would allow him the exercise of his religion, which he could not have in England; and that, being there, he might accept and exercise the office of inquisition and search against all such, though they were English, as offended the common laws of the Catholic Church (whereof he was a member, and to which he owed more particular obedience than to his country or prince) or the laws of Flanders. Moreover, that any subject whatever, on so just an occasion as religion, might renounce his naturalisation, and

betake himself to the subjection of another prince, as he had betaken himself to the subjection of the Catholic King of Spain, and that consequently they could not proceed against him for it. And even if this were not allowed, yet, as the fact for which he was indicted was committed in another country, and he taken there by fraud, and brought into England by force only, he was not punishable for it in England."

He was executed June 1, 1571 (June 12, new style), with circumstances of unusual cruelty. But the trial had been enough to drive Campion from England—not to escape the danger, but to prepare himself to meet it more usefully. Being neither priest nor divine, he thought himself of little use at present, and therefore determined to go at once to Douai, and was already half across the Channel on the day of Storey's death. But in mid-channel his ship was stopped by the "Hare," an English frigate cruising there, which despatched a boat to see that the ship's papers were regular, and that each passenger had his passport. Campion had no document of the kind, and his fellow-passengers, though they knew nothing about him, suspected he might be a Catholic. This was enough; he and his baggage were carried off to the "Hare," and brought to Dover, where the captain took possession of all the money contributed by Campion's friends in England and Ireland, and having occasion to go to London, would needs carry his prisoner with him: "albeit," says Parsons, "by the event that ensued, it seems it was rather a show to justify the taking the money, which he wanted to keep, than from any desire to get his prisoner to London, where he might find some friend to aid him in recovering his purse, seeing in those days there was nothing so rigorous laws against leaving the realm as afterwards were devised." Campion, suspecting this, began directly to linger behind; each of them, without speaking a word, comprehended what the other wanted, and an understanding was soon established. Campion turned round, and walked off towards the east; his companion pursued him westwards. The fugitive obtained a fresh supply of money from some friends in Kent, and succeeded in getting over to Calais without molestation.

Dr. Allen's splendid foundation at Douai was now beginning to flourish. Since the first years of Elizabeth's reign the scholastic towns of Flanders, where the mercantile classes were so closely connected with England by the wool-trade, had become a second country to English refugees, a great colony of whom were established at Louvain. Richard Smith, D.D., of Oxford, was professor in that Flemish university, till he was transferred by Philip II., in 1562, to Douai,

where he was made Provost of St. Peter's, and consequently Chancellor of the University. In like manner William Allen and Thomas Stapleton, who became doctors and professors at Louvain in 1566, removed to Douai in 1568, where Allen began his college with the pecuniary assistance of Morgan Phillips, his old tutor at Oriel College; of John de Vendeville, then Professor of Law at Douai, afterwards Bishop of Tournai; of the Abbots of St. Vaast in Arras, Marchiennes, and Anchin; and of Richardot Bishop of Arras, and with the personal coöperation of Dr. Richard Bristow, student of Christ Church, Oxford; Edward Risheton or Risdon (not the journalist of the Tower, and continuator of Sanders, but one who afterwards joined the English Carthusians at Bruges), John Marshall, John White, Jeremy (alias Simon) Collier, Philip Raycostian, a Belgian; Dr. Thomas Baily, and Dr. Lawrance Webb, both of Cambridge; and Dr. Thomas Stapleton, who, however, accepted no post in the College. On Campion's arrival in 1571, the foundation already numbered some 150 members, of whom eight or nine were doctors or licentiates in theology. The reasons of this rapid growth will be easily understood from Cardinal Allen's own account of the "motives and accidents" which had drawn the men together. The first thought of the founders of the college had been to attract the young English exiles who were living in Flanders from their solitary and self-guided study to a more exact method, and to collegiate obedience; and their next, to provide for the rising generation in England a succession of learned Catholics, especially of clergy, to take the place of those removed by old age, imprisonment, and persecution. Their design, then, was to draw together out of England "the best wits" from the following classes: those inclined to Catholicism; those who desired a more exact education than could be then obtained at Oxford or Cambridge, "where no art, holy or profane, was thoroughly studied, and some not touched at all;" those who were scrupulous about taking the oath of the queen's supremacy; those who disliked to be forced, as they were in some colleges of the English universities, to enter the ministry, "a calling contemptible even to their own conceit, and very damnable in the judgment of others," the dread of being forced into which had (in 1581) yielded to the new college "many, yea some scores, partly before, partly after their entrance into that trade;" and those who were doubtful which religion was the true one, and were disgusted that they were forced into one without being allowed opportunity of inquiring into the other. Besides these educated persons, grammar-schools from all parts

of the realm yielded youths, who after full training in the college became as useful as the others.

A hundred and fifty such converts, all of whom had made some sacrifices, and some of whom had sacrificed all they had for religion, were a real power, because they had fallen into the hands of a man who, with all his political blunders—to use the mildest term—had a true genius for ecclesiastical government. William Allen was not the man to let the force that was in an educated convert run to seed, or to allow him to stand all day idle in the market-place for want of employment. The ingenuity of his machinery for economising the power of which he disposed may be appreciated from the following example. Most people feel two things about a recent convert. First, that it is a pity he cannot be locked up till his exaltation is over, and till his ordinary prudence has resumed its seat; and next, that it is still worse economy to repress the energies of the first months of his conversion, and to prevent him exerting his influence over his friends till time has diminished, if not destroyed it. One of Allen's rules was, that, while those who were now forgotten in their old circles busied themselves in writing books, or in instructing the scholars, the young men, whose memories were still fresh in the affections of those they had left at home, should write letters to move them to attend to the salvation of their souls, and to beseech them not to damn themselves wilfully, under pretence of preserving their property for themselves and their children. The letters by which Gregory Martin had drawn Campion to Douai are only specimens of the practical utility of this rule. And before he left Douai, Campion obtained some results from the same practice. He wrote to certain special friends of his in England, some Catholics and some Protestants, with such fervour, that some of them were moved by his words to leave all and follow him to Douai. To this rule of Dr. Allen we are indebted for perhaps the most beautiful of all Campion's compositions,—his letter to Cheney, the Bishop of Gloucester (Nov. 1, 1571), "whom," says Parsons, "he doth so rattle up (yet with great modesty and show of reverence, and hearty good will), that it may easily appear how abundantly God had imparted His Holy Spirit unto him, for his letter is truly apostolic."

For his old friend Cheney was now in deep disgrace. While the pursuivants were hunting Campion in Ireland, they were also following Cheney in England. In April 1571 Cheney was summoned to convocation; in the third session he was excommunicated for not appearing, by himself or by his proctor, and his archdeacon was sent with a pursuivant to

attach him. He was censured for contempt; though he was in London at the time, he would not appear, and afterwards he went out of London without the archbishop's leave. But, after a little time, he sent his chaplain with letters of proxy to sue for absolution, which was granted. It is sufficient to look at the acts of this convocation, which swept away all the lingering remnants of the old religion, to know why Cheney absented himself from it. The Communion was no longer to be put into the communicant's mouth, but into his hands; all ceremonies or gestures not prescribed in the Prayer-book were to cease; people were to communicate three times a year, not, like the Papists, at Easter or Christmas, but on Ash-Wednesday, and *one of the two Sundays before Easter*, Whitsunday, and Christmas. All altars were to be pulled down, and the altar-stones defaced, and put to some common use. All prayers for the dead, at funerals or commemorations of the dead, to cease; no person was to be allowed to wear beads, or to pray upon them in Latin or English, or to burn candles on the feast of the Purification, or to make the sign of the cross as he entered the church.

The acts of this convocation were only the logical development of the Act of Uniformity, the enforcing of which throughout the English counties stands in such startling complication with the reports of rebellion in the pages of the Calendar of State-Papers for the latter part of the year 1569. Up to 1570 Catholic practices had been allowed to linger in the Establishment; now, after the defeat of the northern rebels, the Puritans found themselves strong enough to repress by force what they had hitherto been obliged to connive at. But Cheney would not sanction by his presence, even though he was only there to protest, a convocation which was to destroy all that he loved in Anglicanism; he retired to Gloucester, and, though he took measures to remove the excommunication, which would have entailed all kinds of material disasters, he never afterwards had any thing to do with his brother-bishops. After eight years, he died as he had lived, leaving it doubtful whether he was reconciled to the Church or not. One of his successors in the see, Godfrey Goodman, said that "it was certain he died a Papist, and bred up his servants Papists, as he had been informed by one of them with whom he had spoken;" but Campion wrote in 1581, two years after the Bishop's death: "A conventicle in London attempted to exclude the clause, 'He descended into hell,' from the Creed, as I was told by an eye-witness, Richard Cheney, *a most miserable old man, evil-entreated by robbers without, who yet entered not his father's house.*" Still, the

old man might have been reconciled, but “secretly, for fear of the Jews,” and a thousand accidents might have prevented the publication of the fact. Certainly, his memory was not in benediction with the Protestants; he was buried in his cathedral, but no memorial was erected to him; and, as if to avenge the Puritans, whom he had troubled, on the Papists, whom he had spared, after his death there was no county in England where more malicious cruelty was exercised on Catholics than in Gloucestershire. I will not reprint Campion’s letter in this place, as a translation of it was published in the *Rambler* for July 1857, p. 60.

During the time that Campion spent at Douai, he completed his course of scholastic theology, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and was ordained sub-deacon, if not deacon (*sacris initiatus*). He was employed also as a professor in the college, for he speaks of Cuthbert Mayne, the protomartyr of the seminaries, as having been his pupil there. He had, moreover, not only to teach the rules, but also to set the example of eloquence; and Parsons tells us that, after an oration of his upon the angels, on St. Michael’s Day, Doctor Matthæus Gallenius, the chancellor of the university, declared, *Profecto nostra patria non fert tale ingenium*—truly, our country does not produce such a wit,—“which, though an exaggeration, considering the great store of rare and eminent men that Belgium yields daily to the world, yet shows his opinion of Master Campion, to whom he was a perfect stranger.”

We have one oration, and part of another, that were pronounced here. The first, *De Juvene Academico*, I have already discussed. Here I will only add the peroration, in which he exhorts all these Douai students to try to realise his ideal of an academic young man:

“Listen to our heavenly Father asking back His talents with usury; listen to the Church, the mother that bore us and nursed us, imploring our help; listen to the pitiful cries of our neighbours in danger of spiritual starvation; listen to the howling of the wolves that are spoiling the flock. The glory of your Father, the preservation of your mother, your own salvation, the safety of your brethren, are in jeopardy, and can you stand idle? If this house were blazing before your eyes, what would you think of the young reprobate who sang, or grinned, or snapped his fingers, or rode cock-horse on his cane in the common crisis? Behold, by the wickedness of the wicked the house of God is devoted to the flames and to destruction; numberless souls are being deceived, are being shaken, are being lost; any one of which is worth more than the empire of the whole world. Do not, I pray you, regard such a tragedy as a joke; sleep not while the enemy watches; play not while he devours his prey; relax not in idleness and vanity while he is dabbling in your brothers’ blood.

It is not wealth, or liberty, or station, but the eternal inheritance of each of us, the very life-blood of our souls, our spirits, and our lives that suffer. See, then, my dearest and most instructed youths, that you lose none of this precious time, but carry a plentiful and rich crop away from this seminary, enough to supply the public wants, and to gain for ourselves the reward of dutiful sons."

The other oration belonging to this period, *De Laudibus Scripturæ Sacræ*, is very imperfect, and what remains is not very remarkable. The speaker maintains the most rigid theory of verbal and syllabic dictation. The following simile is aptly and prettily introduced :

"At Down, in the noble island of Ireland, amongst the relics of St. Brigit was found a concordance of the four Evangelists, beautified with mystical pictures in the margent, whose colours and workmanship at the first blush were dark and unpleasant, but in the view wonderful lively, and artificial. Is not this most like to the style of Scripture ? which seemeth to him, who only looketh in at the door, to speak unlearnedly and pedantically ; whereas whoso diligently studies it finds the truth of the Prophet's praise, 'Thy words are like fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock.'"

After spending more than a year at Douai, Campion became dissatisfied with his position. His biographers attribute this solely to his desire of penance and perfection. His chief study was to acquire the true science of the saints, the knowledge of God and of himself. But the more his knowledge of self increased, the more unhappy he became about that miserable Anglican diaconate. From the first it had given him the most painful scruples, which only grew more painful as his self-knowledge grew deeper, his learning more extensive, and his virtue more mature. He called it "the mark of the beast ;" and the thought of being impressed with "this infamous character" and "profane mark of ministry" grew at last too burdensome to be lightened by counsel of learned friends, or by his own study. So he determined to break entirely with the world, to make a pilgrimage to St. Peter and Paul at Rome, and, by their good help, to become a Jesuit. He heard, as his foreign biographers add, an interior voice commanding him to repair to the see of Peter, where he should be told what to do. He resolved to obey, and immediately felt such inward comfort, that he determined not to wait a day.

A diligent study of Campion's writings does not bring to light much evidence of this effect of his Anglican orders upon his mind ; but it throws light on a divergence between his views and those of Dr. Allen, which I am disposed to think had almost as much to do with his leaving Douai as his scruples or his vocation. I need not trace here the development of the weak point in Dr. Allen's character : a point in which he

suffered the usual penalty of exiles,—entire ignorance of the movements and feelings of his country, and the crystallisation of his brain in those feelings with which he first left England. In Mary's reign Philip II. was king of England, and loyalty to him was a proper sentiment. Allen preserved this sentiment all his life, and not without reason, for he lived within the Spanish king's dominions, and was a dependent on his bounty; and he allowed it to lead him into his disgraceful defence of the treachery of Sir William Stanley at Deventer, and to the composition of the more disgraceful pamphlet which he intended to be distributed throughout England as soon as the Armada should have achieved its first success. But I will not enter upon this point now, as I shall have to discuss Campion's present political views more fully in the next chapter.

But whatever divergence there might have been politically between Allen and Campion, there was no interruption to their friendship. Even the resolution of his most promising subject to leave him did not alienate the affections of the great founder of the English seminary. With a vast harvest to gather in, and only few labourers to send; with every interest of heart and mind concentrated on the conversion of England—it would have been very excusable if he had been grievously offended at Campion's desertion, and all the more at his entrance into the Society of Jesus, which as yet had taken no part in the English mission. We might perhaps have expected Allen to offer the most strenuous opposition to the step, to show himself for years afterwards a bitter enemy of the Society, and to guard himself against any future loss of his students by forbidding them to learn from its professors, to listen to its preachers, or to perform its spiritual exercises. But he was too large-hearted and far-sighted to be swayed by such petty jealousies; he counted on receiving back his loan with interest, and, though he had to wait a while, his calculations did not fail him in the end.

Not that I can find it in my heart to blame those leaders who act differently. A captain does not like his sailors to desert, even though it is to strengthen the crew of a friendly ship. Our own wants press hardest upon us; and when we have a certain state to keep up, if we can only live by pinching, it is folly to expect us to be liberal. A recruiting sergeant likes as it were to make all the water to run to his own mill, and does not approve of the presence of those who seem bent upon turning off some of it to their own wheels. Arguments from the general good of the public service have small weight when brought to counteract his private feelings and interests. It may well be that those who desert his

standard may be more efficient workers under another officer, and in another system of discipline; it may be that their vocation was elsewhere, and that to keep them in his uniform was to keep them away from their proper centre, out of their proper sphere, in a condition where their faculties would be dulled by scruples, and their influence lost; it may be that even their highest well-being depended on their fidelity to their true vocation;—all this is nothing, or very little, to the recruiting officer, who has as it were to furnish his appointed tale of bricks, and to whom it is often very inconvenient that his materials are not bricks, but furnished with living, beating hearts, and with most unaccountable and perverse wills of their own. Thus when Allen allowed Campion to depart in God's name, with kindness and cheerfulness, though he only did his mere duty as a Christian superior, yet surely he deserves that the act should be recorded to his honour, simply because some duties are so difficult, so much against the grain, that to perform them requires the highest discipline of the will and illumination of the intellect.

As soon as Campion had determined to depart from Douai to Rome, and had fixed the day for starting, his preparations did not occupy much time. He went on foot as a poor pilgrim. He allowed his friends to accompany him one day's journey, but would receive no other assistance or protection. The rest of his journey he accomplished alone, and never afterwards spoke of its incidents. But he was met on the road by an old Oxford acquaintance, a Protestant, who had known him "in great pomp and prosperity," and who on his return from a tour to Rome came across a pilgrim in a mendicant's dress. They passed each other without recognition; but the traveller, struck with some familiar expression, rode back to see who the poor man was. He soon recognised him, dismounted, shook hands, exhibited the greatest sympathy, and asked whether he had fallen among thieves that he was in such a plight. When he heard that it was all voluntary mortification, he pooh-poohed the idea as unworthy of an Englishman, fit only for a crazy fanatic, and absurd in a man of moderate means and a frame not over robust. So he pulled out his purse, and told Campion to help himself. The pilgrim refused, and, says Parsons, "made such a speech of the contempt of this world, and the eminent dignity of serving Christ in poverty, as greatly moved the man, and us also his acquaintance that remained yet in Oxford, when the report came to our ears." Campion arrived in Rome early in the autumn of 1573.

Correspondence.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

SIR,—As I have personal reasons for not desiring to continue this correspondence, I shall make but two remarks, rather explanatory than controversial, on the letter which has appeared in your last Number under the signature of “W. G. W.”

1. Though his letter extends to more than double the length of my last, he has carefully omitted to discuss that part of it which refers to classical studies, and has thereby done a grave injustice both to my argument and to myself, by giving to the subject of modern literature, which occupies some two-thirds of his own letter, a position and prominence wholly disproportionate to what it had borne in mine.

2. In nearly every reference to my letters, he has more or less misconstrued, in some cases quite metamorphosed, their actual drift. I am of course very far from saying that his misconstructions are not wholly unintentional, or that they may not arise partly from my own fault. Still that does not alter the fact.

In conclusion, I may perhaps be permitted to entreat your readers, of whatever shade of opinion, to judge—and, if they will, condemn—me *by what I have myself written, and by that alone*; not by the interpretations, or misinterpretations, put upon my words by “W. G. W.” in your pages, or by my critics in the newspapers. I would further ask them to bear in mind the vital importance of the interests at stake, before which all mere personal considerations sink into comparative insignificance.

Thanking you most sincerely for the courtesy you have accorded to my somewhat abnormal encroachments on your epistolary space,
I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

X. Y. Z.

SIR,—Dr. Newman somewhere says, that when disputants succeed in defining their views, they soon find that controversy is either superfluous or hopeless. The progress of the educational controversy in your Magazine has been sufficient to show the hopelessness of bringing it to any positive result; and if I remark on the causes which render it thus hopeless, it is not with a view of continuing the controversy, but of showing why it ought to be closed.

The distance of the disputants from each other precludes all hope of an understanding, because they go on different principles, and pursue different methods of arguing. One deduces broad views from general principles, with which views facts are supposed to be consistent; if not, so much the worse for the facts. The other, with some admixture of argument from principles, founds his views on

observed facts, and laboriously builds up an edifice of deduced rules and principles.

Naturally enough, the former of these writers is the most popular, not more because he defends things as they are, or are supposed to be, than because he appeals boldly to general principles, which are often popular prejudices, simplifies his views by ignoring every thing but the extremest developments of a theory, shakes himself free from the embarrassments of fact, treats the phenomenal world with the contempt of a metaphysician, and devotes his great abilities, not to finding out what is true, but to finding arguments in proof of what he and most others have already determined to be true. Such a disputant, when he is an able logician, is sure to carry the indolent majority away with him, for his arguments are exactly those which chime in with ignorance and narrow-mindedness, and which confirm them in their prejudices. And precisely because his arguments depend only on a state of mind, and not upon a reasonable view of things founded on a knowledge of facts, they carry away every one whose disposition is similar, and whose ignorance of facts is sympathetic, and their influence cannot be undermined by controversy, but only by the gradual increase of knowledge and common sense.

The question proposed was, whether the education, lay and clerical, that is given in the Catholic colleges and seminaries of England and the Continent is altogether satisfactory in its results. One of your contributors denied that it was so, and traced its failure to different causes. I should have thought that the general proposition is amply proved by the present decomposition of society in Italy, which the most competent witnesses attribute chiefly to the defects of Italian education, and by the degradation of domestic life in France. In Italy the prison-like discipline of schools surrounds boys and girls with a network of *espionage* and prohibition, which equally weakens their character and will, and strengthens their curiosity and their wishes. In many places the system is carried so far, that he is the best boy who tells most tales and is the greatest sneak. The system is much mitigated in France, but in principle it is the same; and the French clergy, the most zealous, most devoted, and most ascetical in the world, are both its glory and its shame; for they are the standing refutation of a system which educates men for zeal and devotion, and keeps them aloof from the movements of thought, as if false knowledge was their only danger, and as if heresies had not also sprung from false asceticism. Thus the French clergy are cut off from the lay world, and their influence is confined to the women; nor do they influence men through the women, but only tend to divide the two sexes, and thus involuntarily to further that decline of marriage which they justly denounce as the damning degradation of modern France. "Our wives," says a famous French writer, "have not been educated in the same faith as ourselves;" and to this he traces an evil which will never be remedied till an influence before which men can bow is exerted on the women. That, however, Frenchmen are not incapable of feeling

the influence of priests, is proved by the immense social power of those who have been educated as men of the world, and not in the seminaries. Lacordaire, Ravignan, and Gratry are examples of how priests who have learnt the secret can act upon men. Guizot lately addressed Lacordaire as a "prédicateur aussi varié et presque aussi agité que votre public, orateur encore plein du monde dont vous venez de sortir pour aller à Dieu, encore ému vous-même de cette multitude d'impressions troublées et flottantes auxquelles vous vouliez arracher vos auditeurs, pour les reporter dans les régions sereines d'une foi ferme, et d'une pieuse soumission."

The reply given to this statement has hitherto been drawn, not from facts, but from principles, as if the reality of an evil was lessened by proving it to be impossible, or the fire in the hand was rendered less scorching by thinking on the frosty Caucasus.

It is said, however, that even were these facts true, they should not be canvassed in a lay periodical, or discussed by laymen. I do not know what an ordained periodical can be, or why a lay periodical should be worse than a lay preacher or professor. For all that I know, as many priests may write in the *Rambler* as in journals that profess to be clerical. I suppose a journal is called clerical* when it invariably advocates every existing situation of things in the ecclesiastical world. If so, no such journal could discuss the question of clerical education, except in the manner of one who first assumes that the existing system is what he hopes it is, then that this supposed system is the only true one, and then casts about for arguments to prove it to be so. A journal that should admit any doubt on these points, I suppose, *ipso facto*, ceases to be clerical and becomes lay. As for the propriety of laymen discussing the point, I would refer to an old ecclesiastical and political maxim, that made its appearance often, and even in a Papal rescript, while the Catholic Church was advancing in quick progression to its great place in the European policy, but which has been strangely forgotten since that place was attained: "Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet tractari." That which concerns all should be discussed by all. Now if laymen may not discuss the subject of clerical education, it can

* It has been suggested to me that a "clerical journal" is one for whose opinions some priest is publicly responsible. If this is the definition, I think very few so-called clerical journals are in reality what they claim to be. The name certainly usually points to the part taken by the writers, not to the sacerdotal character of the responsible editor. The journalist, whether layman or ecclesiastic, of whatever dignity, addresses himself to human reason, to human sentiment, or to human passions; whatever authority he has is purely human, purely laic, whether he writes upon dogma and morals, or upon mathematics and gunnery. Catholic journalism is a fact recognised in the law of the Church, but recognised only as a lay function; and in a well-known note of a late cardinal, high in office at Rome, the distinction was pointedly marked between newspaper writings by ecclesiastics, and pastorals invested with canonical forms. To depreciate a "lay magazine" in comparison of a "clerical magazine," as if the latter were a recognised fact, or an authority in the Church, is a mere impertinence founded on nothing but private whim and feeling.

only be for the reason that it is no concern of theirs what education the clergy receive. This might be true if the clergy were only machines for distributing the Sacraments of the Church, and performing her functions. But when the clergy are to preside over the education of laymen, and to be mixed up with the political and social life of nations, and even, if the temporal government of the Pope lasts, to manage the details of administration, it is absurd to say that the laity have no concern in their education. Even as educators, they cannot give what they have not received. Besides, if there is to be mutual good-will between the orders, if they are not to be opposed to each other as rival castes, they should be encouraged rather than rebuked whenever they manifest interest about one another's concerns. Lay Catholics, I am sure, are most happy to find a priest who takes an intelligent interest in politics. It ought to be thought a calamity if the laity show no interest in the affairs of the clergy. Such estrangement may begin with reverence, but it ripens into disregard, and rots into contempt and hostility. "Numbers of philosophers," says Maurice, "have solemnly voted that they will leave us to manage our own nonsense." Politicians go farther. They solemnly vote that every vestige of ecclesiastical dominion shall be swept out of their bureaus. When Archbishop Winchelsea cut the bond of mutual aid between clergy and laity by refusing Edward I. any taxes from the clergy, the king outlawed them, and proclaimed that, though they could not sue for justice in any court, any body might sue them. Where mutuality of interest ceases, hostility begins.

But it is said that, after the Council of Trent has spoken, not even the clergy can moot the point again. "X. Y. Z." objects that the Council is not received in England. But in fact its decrees in discipline are not absolute, even where it is received. They may be modified every where, and ought to be modified by circumstances of time and place. "X. Y. Z.'s" opponent was not wrong simply because the Council is not received in England. He would be equally wrong every where else, and in every period, except that in which the decrees were given. The disciplinary canons even of the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem have become obsolete. Is it not lawful for a layman to inquire whether present circumstances may not be gradually doing the same for those of Trent? If he can discern the face of the sky, may he not also know the signs of the times?

Moreover, the decree quoted by this opponent of "X. Y. Z." has very little to do with the question. It does not limit the range of studies at all, its terms are quite indefinite, and it settles nothing about the mixture or the separation of lay and Church students. As the schools for boys were few and imperfect in the age of the Council, it was decreed that every diocese should have an institution of the kind, at least for the clergy, so that they at any rate might be safely educated; but the decree expressed nothing about the exclusion of lay students; and in the Italian seminaries I understand that "humanists and theologians are generally put to-

gether, as the dioceses are too small to yield a sufficient number of the latter.”*

I will venture one remark on the letter of “W. G. W.” By his classification of literature I supposed that he was a partisan of Gaume; but he has denied this elsewhere. However, if we adopt his division, we must then make the ancient and the English classics the substance of what he calls literature, and reckon Sophocles and Shakespeare, Cicero and Bacon, as its types. But “W. G. W.” seems to concentrate its whole substance into novels, “romances of earthly passion,” in which he makes no distinction between sensuality and love, or between the danger of knowledge and the danger of exciting the imagination. I may insist upon the necessity of literature for education without fighting for the claim of romances, though I do not believe that there is any other danger than that of distraction from more serious pursuits in reading most of Scott, Dickens, or Thackeray, or Bulwer’s later writings. I will here bring my scattered remarks to a close, with the hope that if this controversy has excited a good deal of animosity for the present, it will have also sown the seeds of consideration and thought, and consequent improvement, for the future.

S. A. B. S.

SIR,—The declared object of “X. Y. Z.” in starting the question of Catholic Education was, to give an opportunity for the thorough “ventilation” of that great subject. For my own part, much as I differ from him in some of his opinions, and still more in his general tone and spirit, I have never seen any reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration. I have never felt that Catholic education, even in its more ecclesiastical aspects, is a matter which, under our actual circumstances, it was beyond the competency of a layman (if layman he be) to discuss; nor can I trace in either of his letters, least of all in the later of the two, anything of a dogmatical and dictatorial character; any thing, in short, at variance with that profession of a purely tentative object with which he began. In this view of the case, I am glad to fortify myself by the admission of one of the ablest as well as most zealous of his antagonists, “A. B. C.” in the *Tablet*, who says, in words even stronger than I am prepared to use, “The importance of the subject there ventilated” (*i. e.* in your pages) “needs not to be discussed. It is obvious that upon the education of her ministers must depend, in great measure, the prospects of the Church in these islands for many years to come; and, on the other hand, every Catholic, simply as such, has a special and individual interest in all questions which concern the training of those who are to be his own spiritual guides and teachers.” In thus justifying his own entrance upon the controversy, this writer fur-

* The same ecclesiastic who gives me this information says roundly, that the wish to introduce the Italian system—which has failed so utterly in its own land—into England is “une balourdise de premier ordre.”

nishes the best vindication of the act of his adversary. But whether we adopt this, or the opposite view of the right of an unauthorised person to moot the question of ecclesiastical education (for, on the points of prudence and taste, I think that "X. Y. Z.'s" proceeding is far less defensible), all parties, even those most hostile to him, must admit that his challenge has been nobly met, and that his letter has elicited a very considerable amount of light upon a subject the magnitude of which is beyond dispute. It has evidently set loose a great quantity of deep and earnest thought which wanted a plea for escape. And I really cannot see that we can do otherwise than rejoice that he should have thrown into the arena of public controversy speculations which might otherwise have festered into some morbid shape. The contempt which has more than once been expressed (most recently, I am sorry to see, by "W. G. W.") for his views and arguments is certainly somewhat at variance with the large amount of notice which his letters have received; and I cordially hope that he will not allow himself to be provoked, by the vexatious and exasperating tone in which he has been very generally answered, into a state of insensibility to the value of much that is contained in such letters as those of "A. B. C." and "W. G. W."

The letter, indeed, of the last-mentioned writer might be said to exhaust the argument on the side it espouses, were it not for what appears to myself, as an external and impartial observer, an unaccountable misconception of some of "X. Y. Z.'s" statements, and a consequent appearance of unfairness towards him, which I feel to be as prejudicial to the cause of his opponents, as it is adverse to the ends of controversial justice. With this feeling strongly present to my mind, I cannot do otherwise than give expression to these misgivings, though I ought to add, with the view of accounting for possible inconsistencies between this letter and any defence which "X. Y. Z." may make in his own person, or that of his friends, in the same Number of your periodical, that I have no more than the very slightest acquaintance with the gentleman in question, even if general report be correct in establishing his identity; and that I have no way whatever of knowing whether my construction of his meaning be that which he is himself prepared to adopt.

The only form into which I can possibly throw my observations upon "W. G. W.'s" able and interesting letter, which will express my intention of mediating between himself and his antagonist, with a decided predilection for his spirit, and a strong judgment in favour of many of his conclusions, is that of a critique upon his letter, in the course of which I shall, as I hope, make it plain wherein I agree and wherein I am at variance with him. The same view of the case which makes me glad that this controversy was begun, leads me also to desire that it may (if I may use the expression) be well drained out; and though it is very possible that I may mistake for flaws in its matter what in truth are but the reflection of motes in my own vision, I nevertheless deliberately consider the course I am taking to be the best towards the elucidation of the truth.

First, then, as to what may be said in "X. Y. Z.'s" defence for entering into this controversy at all. "W. G. W." considers, with several others, that the question of ecclesiastical education ought never to have been raised in a lay periodical, and, in entering into it, does but bow to a state of circumstances which he cannot help, and would gladly undo. If, as a writer in the *Rambler* of September last, who signs himself "H. O.," pronounces, we be in a condition to bear down this inquiry by the authority of the Council of Trent, no doubt there is an end of the question. But what is the fact? There is not a single ecclesiastical college in this country which is modelled upon the Tridentine standard. Old Hall is the nearest approach we possess to a seminary (proper); though even at Old Hall secular students are educated—not, indeed, in conjunction, but still under the same roof—with ecclesiastics; and even this amount of approximation between the two classes must needs have a certain tendency to modify (whether for good or evil) the spirit of the place. But at other colleges that very arrangement actually exists, and I know, in the case of one of these institutions at least, is zealously defended, which "X. Y. Z." advocates, and his defence of which is represented as one of the *gravamina* of his case.* This particular argument, then, of "X. Y. Z." being, as I think, excused by what wears the appearance of an authoritative dispensation from the law of the Council, there remains in his letter the question (1) of *surveillance*, (2) of secular literature as a more prominent feature in clerical education, (3) of the scope to be allowed to the affections in the training of priests. Now, first, as to the question of *surveillance*, or, in other words, keeping boys and youths in check by incessant watching of their actions, instead of leaving them rather to the moral restraints of a well-instructed conscience, aided by the confessional; this is a subject which touches Catholic education in general, and, as such, does not seem unfit for the pages of a lay periodical. Indeed, so far is the method which displeases "X. Y. Z." from being a ruled point among us, that more than one excellent preparatory school has been lately formed upon a different principle, as if in acknowledgment that Catholics may advantageously take a leaf out of the books of "those most detestable of all educational establishments," the Protestant public schools. With regard to the third point, the relation of secular literature to clerical education, it is quite certain that here "X. Y. Z." is on perfectly safe ground, as regards mere authority. The view in which he would probably have (as he certainly deserves) the fewest sympathisers, is that which he has advanced in favour of more indiscriminate reading in recreation-time. But in his second letter he has clearly admitted the *principle* of restriction, and is entitled to the benefit, such as it is, of this admission.

* I must not be understood to concede that the Council of Trent does not bind in England, in any other sense of that phrase, than that certain of its disciplinary decrees are not enforced in this country, for the moment, by the executive. Still, it seems unfair to withhold from "X. Y. Z." the benefit to which he is entitled from the existing practice in our colleges.

A charge against which it is less easy to defend him is that of putting out what reads like an attack upon our existing educational institutions. But it is curious that the college which has the best right to resent this injury is just the one which has not treated his letter as personal. To be forward in supposing personality where there is no attack, is, I think, an error in policy, and here also in fact: in policy, because it invites the application of the proverb, "Qui s'excuse, s'accuse;" in fact, because, notwithstanding all which has been said upon the uniformity of our educational system, any single ecclesiastical college is in reality no necessary nor actual counterpart of another. Take, for instance, the variations of a class ranging between St. Sulpice, at the one end, and the Collegio Pio, at the other.

Now, all this, or, at any rate, some of it, goes far to extenuate, though I will not say to justify, the publication of "X. Y. Z.'s" letters. If any further ground of palliation be sought, it may, as I think, be found in the very anomalous and exceptional state of our Catholic social condition. We English live in a land of liberty; and even the Catholic Church herself cannot keep on the outskirts of the national atmosphere. We seem rapidly breaking down the barriers which elsewhere protect ecclesiastical secrets, and secure the immunities of privileged classes. The phrases "ad clerum" and "ad populum" are waxing obsolete. I am not at all pronouncing dogmatically that this is an evil, except, of course, where it involves breaches of promise or confidence; but any how it is a fact. Here in London (in certain societies at least) every body talks about every thing. The character and acts of Bishops and Archbishops, diocesan politics, synodical deliberations,—these and many other things of the same high and delicate character are getting to be matters of public gossip, true or false, as the case may be; and this too (as certain recent numbers of the *Saturday Review* attest) not only within, but without, the pale of the Church. What matter? Words are fleeting, while truth abides. All is sure to be righted, sooner or later, in God's indefectible Church. I am far from denying that there is some difference between broaching casual opinions in mixed society and deliberately publishing them in a Magazine. Still, partisans are apt to be indiscriminating, and I think it pretty certain, at any rate, that the high ecclesiastical ground taken against "X. Y. Z." by such adversaries as "H. O." and "W. G. W.," should involve as its consequence a far greater restraint upon the tongue than we are accustomed to remark. Again, has not the temper of the time undergone a somewhat abrupt change upon some of the subjects which "X. Y. Z." has canvassed? Have "seminaries" (*versus* "colleges") been always as much in the ascendant as at this moment? Have the dangers of secular literature been always as extensively felt, and as freely acknowledged? Has the actual administration of our ecclesiastical colleges been protected by the supposed sacredness of those institutions from free criticism? Has not something like an ecclesiastical *furor* lately

sprung up, gratifying indeed to many of us, but with which our "X. Y. Z.'s" can hardly be expected to keep pace? I conclude, therefore, that "X. Y. Z." may most naturally have been led into the mistake of supposing a question to be, by general acknowledgment, *publici juris*, which, in a normal state of things, would be reserved to authorities; and the temper of the Catholic public other than, to his cost, he has found it.

"W. G. W." begins his letter by enunciating, with masterly power, certain great Christian truths as a ground common to himself, and (of course) to his opponent, upon which to build the controversy. It is an argument *ad verecundiam* which every Christian, or at least every Catholic, must be simply shamed into admitting. "W. G. W.," however, does well to draw it out clearly, and vigorously to press it. Of all truths, there are none which fare worse in this vexatious world than those which are so trite as to be accounted truisms. They seem by common consent to be shelved; and this for a reason which proves rather that they ought to be constantly produced. They are put aside, because they are so *very* true. They are commonplace, because they are so indisputable; and, because they are commonplace, no one likes to touch them, or touches them, if at all, very much as a dog plays with a hedgehog. The fact is, that if we go on much longer on this principle, truisms will cease to be trite, and will then have some chance of being respected as novelties. Certainly, they never come forth more impressively than from writers like "W. G. W.," in whose grasp they are not the faded and secondhand wares of a mere retailer, but the virgin gold which is the product of a deep and patient personal research. From these great and inestimable verities, which are in fact the staple of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius—the End of man, and the ways in which that End is either advanced or counteracted, "W. G. W." deduces his general conclusion upon the objects of Christian, and especially of ecclesiastical, education, and his particular conclusions as to the precise methods by which those objects may be most successfully promoted. It is the last of these deductions only which is likely to be disputed.

The first of "X. Y. Z.'s" propositions which "W. G. W." examines is, "that clerical students should be governed on the 'principle of confidence' only, and not on the 'principle of police.'" By the "principle of police" "W. G. W." understands that "X. Y. Z." "clearly means" the "habit of superiors being, on principle, constantly in the students' company;" by the "principle of confidence" he understands his opponent to mean that "the students should be left to form a kind of commonwealth of their own." I shall be surprised if "X. Y. Z." accepts these several explanations of his meaning as true, or at least adequate, to it. What I understand him to aim at in his distinction between two principles or methods of government is, the *spirit*, rather than the *fact*, of the intercourse held by superiors with students. A policeman mingles with the Queen's subjects, and a parent mingles with his children. *This*, therefore, can scarcely be

the point of difference between two most opposite modes of government. The difference surely is, that the policeman's object is detection ; the parent's, the establishment of a confidential and affectionate relation : and by these so different objects it is that the spirit of each method is distinguished. Hence I do not, I confess, understand, with "W. G. W.," "X. Y. Z.'s" after-words, in which he excepts against being supposed to deprecate the intermixture of superiors with students, as a "contradiction" to his previous statement, but rather as an explanation of it. It is true that he deprecates the constant presence of monitors with the students, and therein I dissent from him ; but I do not dissent from him in thinking that there is a kind of *surveillance* which is at any rate possible, or rather which, without very special care on the part of those who practise it, is in great danger of coming to pass, and of which I think that the "system of police" would be a very appropriate description. In a letter which appeared in the *Rambler* of last September, I mentioned a graphic instance of the kind of *surveillance* which I dislike, and which I believe to be common in French schools, and, indeed, characteristic of the French military spirit—one reason, I will say in passing, among others, why I have no desire whatever to see French ideas of educational discipline imported into this country. But I expressly stated in the same letter that I had not observed any thing of the same kind at the English Catholic college where I spent several years ; neither do I believe, upon the best evidence I can obtain, that it exists in other English Catholic colleges, and as little as any where, I will add, in those which are directed by the Society of Jesus. What reasons "X. Y. Z." may have for commenting upon its existence, or fearing its introduction, of course I do not know ; but, in regard to it, I both agree with him and differ from him. I agree with him in thinking that, wherever it exists, it is an evil of the first magnitude. I differ from him in thinking that such a system has any *necessary* connection with *surveillance*. Perhaps my meaning will be clearer when I come to "W. G. W.'s" next point of discussion. Here I will only observe, that in argument (not with myself, who consider confidence compatible with *surveillance*, but) with "X. Y. Z.," who considers the two principles inconsistent with one another, "W. G. W." appears to me to have raised a real difficulty in his opponent's way by referring to the matter of college rules. I think, with "W. G. W.," that rules necessitate *surveillance*, though under what conditions, or with what modifications, is a further question. Indeed, I do wish that "X. Y. Z." would tell us plainly what he thinks upon the subject of "discipline" altogether. I intimated, in my letter to the *Rambler*, how exceedingly rare I consider to be the qualifications necessary to secure a *surveillance* which shall be at once vigilant and affectionate ; which shall operate as a check without being loathed as a grievance ; indeed, I think the whole question of moral education is a difficulty of surpassing magnitude, and one of those problems which are rather soluble by practice than capable of being demonstrated on paper. However, I know the

union in question to be possible, because I know it to exist. I am bound, however, in fairness to say that I do not feel piety and zeal to be the *whole* matter. Of course there must be the most ardent love of souls, as not the basis only, but the habitual motive, of the intercourse. If I were to use the word "tact" to express my notion of the supplementary requisite, I might not only convey a wrong impression, but I should really do injustice to my own idea; for I mean something deeper and better than that word, in its ordinary acceptation, indicates. I shall perhaps best convey my feeling of the peculiar difficulties which *surveillance* involves, and imply my sense of the qualifications it requires, by saying a few words upon what I have observed of the character of boys and youths, not at college (of which I have little experience), but in missionary life. Should I be met by the observation, that ecclesiastical students stand upon a different footing from ordinary boys, I rejoin, that I believe, on the contrary, that, in the points to which I am about to refer, they agree with all boys of their own class, and of the same age.

The first characteristic of the class in question which I happen to have remarked is an intense, perhaps a morbid, horror of what they would call "prying." I think it possible, and to certain persons not difficult, to mix, as a senior with his juniors, with, on the one hand, a vigilant eye, and, on the other, I will not say a purposed concealment of his object (for that implies diplomacy and manœuvring), but an absence of habitual advertence to it, whereby he may, as I said in my letter to the *Rambler*, maintain a real, yet perfectly unapparent, hold over them. Otherwise, it will be simply impossible for the *surveillant* (who is in a certain sense both a spy and an informer by profession) to secure that "confidence" which all of us agree in believing to be essential.

The next and kindred observation which I have to make about boys and young men is, that the best way *not* to influence them is to make it manifest that you wish to do so. That which "W. G. W." has so truly said of earthly happiness, is singularly true of influence; that it is gained just in proportion as it is *not* sought. Boys (and older people too) have an instinctive dislike of "sermonising," and being talked to with the ostensible object of edification. This practice, therefore (which is of course imperative on certain occasions), should be reserved for these occasions, and then adopted not only without disguise, but with an open profession, and, if possible, a kind of preface to disarm suspicion, and to form even a contrast with the ordinary character of the intercourse, such as "Now, my dear friend, I am going to say something *very* serious and important."

Thirdly: I appropriate here an observation which has been made a hundred times before: that boys are about the shrewdest critics of personal character in existence. Hence it is of no use whatever for a superior to appear among them with a mask on, for they will be sure to see his natural face through it. I mean, of

course, that he must influence them, if at all, by the silent force of his natural character, whatever that character be, without being over-studious of effect. A saint, and even a good Christian, who is much less than a saint, will be certain to edify and influence others on the whole and in the long-run ; but the very slightest approach to straining after effect will be sure to defeat its object sooner or later, either by making itself palpable, or by the contrast which will be offered to it by some human slip. Perfect simplicity, and even a kind of rough naturalness, are the only sure roads to confidence, especially with young people ; and without confidence, I need not add, influence for good is wholly impossible. Here, then, is another extreme difficulty in the way of a successful *surveillance*, because, of all temptations in the world, that of human respect is perhaps the hardest to conquer, especially when, as in the case of intercourse with those we desire to influence, it is so easy to be unnatural on the plea of avoiding scandal or giving edification. Somebody or other is said to have broached the paradoxical opinion that "exemplary" and "edifying" are not just the epithets we should apply to some great saints. Without fully endorsing this sentiment, I can understand its drift.

But how, still asks "W. G. W.," can rules be enforced without something of the police principle? Well, I own I await "X. Y. Z.'s" answer to this question. For myself, I should say, of course, that the police *spirit* is the thing to be avoided. A policeman, *quâ* he is a maintainer of the laws, is so far, I suppose, like a college officer. It is *quâ* he is nothing else, and as he maintains law in a narrow-minded and unaffectionate way, that "X. Y. Z.," I must believe, deprecates him as a model. But I agree entirely with "W. G. W." that rules there must be (though I should be for reducing their number) ; that these rules must be kept, not merely as a matter of discipline, but as an absolutely necessary moral probation for the priesthood ; and that, for a time at least (even "W. G. W." does not seem to say more), there must be some visible security for their observance.

I wish sincerely that "W. G. W." had employed his great argumentative powers in answering the common objections to *surveillance* in education, instead of "pooh-poohing" them. "I cannot even guess," he tells us, "at my opponent's meaning when he says that such a system as this 'helps to deaden the sense of responsibility, and checks, rather than fosters, the development of character.'" Now, in the first place, "W. G. W." draws a picture of the *surveillance* system which, granting it to exist, in practice, supposes very extraordinary conditions of perfection, and may not, after all, be that which the argument of "X. Y. Z." contemplates. It is this : "that eminently holy and interior men shall be on terms of constant and familiar intercourse with the students." Surely "X. Y. Z." never meant to impute the consequences he fears to a system like this! What I suppose him to regard as injurious to the sense of personal responsibility, and to the free development of

character, is a system under which, not eminently holy superiors, but young men very little older than many of the students themselves, are appointed to watch them at all hours of the day and night, with the view of hindering, so far as they can hinder, the breach of college rules and the violation of morality. For my own part, I regard even so much as this (for reasons given in my aforesaid letter to the *Rambler*) as a great advantage, and of course, whatever more than this is effected by the same system is so much *appositum lucro*. But any how *this*, and not mere "constant and familiar intercourse," constitutes the distinctive character of educational *surveillance*. *This*, then, it is, namely, incessant *watching* (as the word *surveillance* implies), which not "X. Y. Z." only, but far greater men than he, and men, too, indisputably possessed of the ecclesiastical spirit, have felt to be an unhealthy check upon the exercise of personal responsibility, and upon the free development of individual character. Why, is it possible that "W. G. W." has never heard, or rather that he has not heard many times, these particular objections brought against the Jesuit system of education; and that, too, on the very ground of that system involving a *surveillance* of the kind supposed? Most mistaken I myself believe those objections to be. But they undoubtedly prevail in too many quarters, and are felt by too important persons to be treated as unworthy of a reply. Indeed, I must admit that it is not at first sight so plain that constant acting under a human eye has *not* a *tendency* to put "eye-service" in the place of higher motives. Hence, in my letter to the *Rambler*, I insisted strongly on the necessity of counteracting that tendency by means of other and still healthier influences. "W. G. W." has noticed that letter with such undeserved kindness, that I am the more disposed to refer to it. Undoubtedly I think that without great caution, and some modifications, the deadening of the sense of responsibility and the cramping of character are precisely the effects which *surveillance, merely as such*, would tend to endanger. "W. G. W." seems to imply (by a parenthesis at p. 240) that even he would relax this system of constant watching in the case of the older students. I wish he had given us his opinion on this matter more distinctly, for the question is very material to the argument. In other places he speaks almost as if *surveillance* were the most perfect system for the ends of morality and spirituality; whereas, surely, it is but an exceptional, and simply preparatory, mode of government after all. Now, if "W. G. W." would relax this system in the case of the older students, or at all events (for less than this his words cannot mean), if he is not sure that such would not be the better course, I suppose that he would look to such a relaxation as a kind of gradual launching into the ocean of life, in which men, and even priests, must dispense with *towing*, and make their way as best they can under the canopy of heaven. Any thing less wise than to continue this system of visible restraint up to the last day of a priest's ecclesiastical preparation, and then suddenly to turn him adrift among the compli-

cated responsibilities of a secular mission (for I admit that this argument applies less strongly to the case of religious), I cannot in the whole range of possibilities even imagine. And this was in my mind when, in my letter to the *Rambler*, I said that either vacations must modify *surveillance*, or *surveillance* totally change the present character of vacations. Surely it is a mistake in nursing to cut your leading-strings suddenly, or break up your perambulator all at once, before you are sure that your child is strong enough to walk alone. There must be an interval, I suppose, for some course of training, intermediate between mechanical helps and perfectly free action. But I think, as I said, that the proper solution of this difficulty is to be found, not in removing the *surveillance*, but in changing the character of the vacation.

If the perils of non-*surveillance*, especially to the virtue of purity (notwithstanding the restraints of the confessional), be such as "W. G. W." represents, it is impossible that he can do otherwise than abominate that method of education in the case of *lay* students as well as of clerics. I leave him, however, to settle this question with those Catholics who advocate great modifications of *surveillance*, at any rate in the case of *lay* scholars. For myself, I fear that the contrast between the two opposite systems in this great point, although, I believe, material, is yet less absolute and entire than he imagines. This, however, is a part of the subject which I shall not of course pursue.

In foreign countries it is usual to have two distinct colleges; one for the older, and another for the younger students, a "*grand*" and a "*petit*" *séminaire*. "X. Y. Z." in his second letter appears to approve of this excellent arrangement, and, speaking of course quite theoretically and in the abstract, it seems to be one which obviates many of the difficulties of the subject.*

The next question is that of the scope to be allowed for the exercise of the affections in ecclesiastical education. A portion of this subject has been anticipated under the preceding head. "W. G. W." begins by supposing a construction of "X. Y. Z.'s" words, which he afterwards appears to repudiate. He begins by supposing his adversary to refer to a defective provision, in colleges, for the exercise of the affections upon their highest objects, our Divine Redeemer, His Blessed Mother, and the Saints. Later, however, he seems to limit "X. Y. Z.'s" grievance to, what is a totally different matter, the discouragement of "particular friendships." I have no right to rule the meaning of a writer with whom I have held no communication whatever upon this controversy. But it would never have occurred

* For instance, the question of educating clerics separately, or in conjunction with lay students. I have yet to learn that "X. Y. Z." is in favour of continuing the united system up to the end of the ecclesiastical course; I gather from his letters that he is not. And his opponents, I conclude, would not object to it in the earlier period of education, *i. e.* before the ecclesiastical vocation is tested and pronounced. *Separate* colleges, therefore,—the one mixed, the other simply ecclesiastical,—would seem to provide a practical adjustment of the difference.

to me that he was referring particularly to either of these especial developments of affection, though I must, of course, take for granted that he designed to include the former of them, at any rate, in his idea of the benefits to be derived from the theory of clerical education which he advocates. The impression which "X. Y. Z.'s" words produced upon my own mind, and under which I expressed my hearty agreement with them in the *Rambler*, was, that he considers the system which he believes, rightly or wrongly, to have an actual counterpart, to be adverse, or at least unfriendly, to those qualities of tenderness, considerateness, and affectionate *discrimination*, which "W. G. W." would probably agree with him in regarding as eminently sacerdotal. Here and elsewhere "W. G. W." seems to me to argue from some imaginary type which is not that combated by his opponent, and thus, of course, to gain a great argumentative advantage over him. Now, will "W. G. W." go so far as to say that his opponent is here fighting a chimera? Will he deny, upon the strength of his own experience, that there is a mode, supposed, at any rate, to have a Catholic existence, of dealing with young people upon a hard, indiscriminating, *regimental* principle, which has an undoubted tendency to crush the healthy development of affection, and stunt the growth of character? Will he deny that a school conducted by this rule would be a very nursery of unsympathising priests and inconsiderate superiors? My own experience of boys and young men would lead me to the conclusions: (1) that it is through the affections that they are principally to be gained; (2) that they differ from one another in character, relatively to their age, as much as grown people. I will suppose a method of education in which these two facts, as I consider them, are ignored; and I know for certain that there are those among "X. Y. Z.'s" opponents who stoutly deny both of the above propositions. What will be the course of treatment adopted in such a school? Nothing will be taken for granted of A., but that he is the ditto of B. The following syllogisms, then, will be habitually constructed in the minds of superiors, or rather their conclusions intuitively acted upon as certain: "All boys are addicted to lies of excuse: A., therefore, is not to be believed on his word." "All boys are given to shamming illness:" A. (a delicate and veracious youth) must be dragged out of bed and brought down to an "examen," under the pressure of a splitting headache. I know very well that I shall be reminded of the danger of "favouritism" and "petting." I am not otherwise than aware that there are rocks on all sides; but the conclusion I draw from this reflection is, not that we are to avoid one set of dangers by rushing into the opposite, but that education is a work of surpassing difficulty, about which it becomes us all to speak with the utmost caution and diffidence.

The method of governing young men which, as far as I can gather from the tenor of his observations, "X. Y. Z." condemns, is that which is popularly, though I believe most falsely, associated with the name of the Jesuits; while that which, in contradistinction from it, he seems to advocate, is, I believe, the one which is truly attri-

buted to the Oratorians. It is a common thing to hear the Jesuits charged with governing the subjects of their discipline by a rule which is uniform and inelastic, which makes no sufficient allowance for diversities of character, and stereotypes all who come under its power into a stiff and unnatural shape. This is supposed to result from stifling, or ignoring, the affections. On the other hand, the name of St. Philip Neri is connected with a mode of government the very opposite to this. The Oratorian rule is commonly, and I suppose truly, believed to adapt itself with a sweet and beautiful facility to the characteristic differences of those to whom it is applied, and to sway them by a pressure which is at once powerful enough to unify their spirit, yet so gentle as to give full play to the distinctions of individual character. This arises from the effect of rules being modified by personal influence operating mainly through the affections. I have already expressed my conviction that whereas, to the best of my knowledge and experience, the description just given of the Oratorian method is correct, the Jesuits are unjustly supposed to favour an essentially different principle of administration. I am inclined to believe, though perhaps without sufficient data, that the less pliant and more indiscriminate mode of treating young people is essentially foreign, and, that so far as it prevails, or has ever prevailed, in any of our colleges, the fact is owing to their having been offshoots of the French seminaries.* Wherever it exists, and whencesoever it comes, I desire to record my own cordial detestation of it. Such, then, I believe to be the system against which "X. Y. Z." desires to invoke the aid of the neglected affections. I believe that he is not altogether wrong in supposing that it is sufficiently real to justify a caution, nor do I think that, viewing it in the abstract, he has in any degree exaggerated its evils.

I come lastly to the question of "literature" properly so called, as an element of ecclesiastical education. How very sincerely and extensively I here agree on the whole with "W. G. W.," and differ from "X. Y. Z.," would have been apparent to your readers, had the insertion of a second letter of mine in your January Number been found compatible with that of "W. G. W.'s" valuable communication. I not only admire the force of a great deal which he says on

* I cannot agree with "X. Y. Z." in thinking that there is possibly "room for a St. Sulpice in England." The Sulpician method of education appears to me (and I know that the opinion is shared by far more competent judges) to involve the mistake of supposing that a vocation to the priesthood necessarily includes a vocation to a religious life of more than common severity, which, being continued during the educational course, is then to be abruptly exchanged for the state of the ordinary secular priesthood. The introduction of such a system into England would, under actual circumstances, be an experiment of so critical a kind that the idea of it is not one which can be thrown out at a venture. In brief, St. Sulpice appears to me (I wish to speak with the greatest submission) at once to attempt too much and to compass too little. It is too much of a novitiate for a seminary, and has no *necessary* issue, in the after-life of its students, to warrant so grand a beginning. Even if it be a success in France,—about which opinions vary,—it is yet a further question whether it would be suited to England.

the secularising, and even antichristianising, tendencies of mere literature, but I am delighted to see so able an exposition of views which I have long cherished, but which I have regarded as an idiosyncrasy, if not a crotchet.

But does "W. G. W." seriously propose to eliminate secular literature, with few exceptions, from ecclesiastical education? Is it possible that he can expect the English Bishops, or the directors of colleges, to go along with him in his opinion, that the personal advantages of literature are connected exclusively, or mainly, with its recreative use? (p. 259.) In plain words, is he or is he not for the revolutionary principles of the Abbé Gaume? * I believe, from my knowledge of the opinions of learned ecclesiastics in England, that, were the abolition of the classics as a part of ecclesiastical education to be suggested, the writer who should propound such a theory would raise a storm about his ears compared with which the excitement occasioned by the letters of "X. Y. Z." would be but a moderate breeze.

With regard to the great question of the religious uses of mere secular literature, I think that the extreme views of "W. G. W.," in which I am disposed very much to agree, are fairly open to one criticism. Do they make sufficient allowance for different *types* of the sacerdotal character? Do we not all of us know priests who bring a familiarity with secular literature, and with what is going on in the world, to bear most effectively upon their priestly duties, without injury to their priestly character? "W. G. W." would answer, that he provides for this exception by supposing certain students educated expressly for the purpose of coping with learned heresy or scepticism. But I am here referring rather to the social influence of priests, which is "X. Y. Z.'s" point. Not questioning, but rather fully maintaining, all which "W. G. W." so beautifully says of the influence exercised upon the world by the simple exhibition of sacerdotal virtues, I am still not at once prepared to put out of the account another, less efficacious, yet still any thing but valueless, influence which comes of an ordinary priest's maintaining a certain ratio with the world's own intellectual advances. Circumstances have thrown me, from time to time, into French society, not in the metropolis, but in the provinces, where one has a better opportunity of testing the average effects of the ecclesiastical system. In this society I have witnessed the following opposite results. I have seen priests, taken from the lower ranks of society, on the one hand, mixing in general company, and, on the other, mixing to a great disadvantage with the more educated portion of it. The small gentry of country towns in France are apt, as is well known, to have a flippant way of talking upon religious or semi-religious subjects. It was very painful to see, in the instance which came before me, that the priest, in company with this class, was quite unable to keep his ground with the least success against the raillery of his companions. Contrariwise,

* This was written before I had seen "W. G. W.'s" second letter, which I have noticed in a postscript.

I have been in French society where the same class of *avocats, sous-préfets, &c.*, has been confronted with priests of more refined manners, great powers of conversation, polished wit, and a fund of information on subjects of the day. I know that the same priests are also most exemplary in the discharge of their duties, and full of the ecclesiastical spirit. Here the case was reversed. The lawyers, government officials, &c. were no longer the lords of the situation; they found much more than their match in their reverend associates, who, with exquisite tact, and unconquerable good-humour, dexterously turned aside their inconvenient pleasantries, or crushingly retorted their semi-sceptical cavils; and all this without the slightest undue assumption of authority, compromise of dignity, or interruption of social harmony.

From these and similar experiences I have since been disposed to conclude, that *if* priests are to mix in general society (observe my proviso), they must be able to bear their part in the subjects which interest it.

I have now said all which occurs to me on the several topics of this controversy. I do not think it likely that I shall return to it, unless any further words be necessary in the way of explanation or apology.

Your obedient servant,

Feb. 9.

F.

Postscript.—Just as I am sending off these sheets to the printer, I have read “W. G. W.’s” letter in the *Tablet* of to-day, explaining his views upon the Abbé Gaume, and the classical education of priests. Not being able to recast the portion of the above remarks which relates to this subject without deranging the letter, I think it best to leave them as they stand, with a request that the reader will be pleased to receive them wholly in the sense of “W. G. W.’s” explanation, which he will find in both the Catholic papers of this date. It will tend to show that “W. G. W.’s” new letter was not uncalled for, if I add that my own view of the drift of his observations on literature was formed quite independently of any communication with others; nor, indeed, was I the least aware, till I read his letter in the *Tablet*, that this view was shared by a single person.

My own feelings upon the question of the classics as a part of clerical education are any thing rather than sensitive to the charge of leaning towards the views of M. Gaume, as, indeed, I implied in my letter on “X. Y. Z.,” in the *Rambler* for September last. In a second letter, to which I have already referred, and which did not appear, I entered at some length into the whole subject, and came to the conclusion that *such* a classical education as alone seems to me valuable to a priest (and I think there is a kind of it which is *most* valuable) is, as far as I can see, incompatible with the actual conditions of ecclesiastical training; and this—(1) from want of time; (2) from the physical impossibility of applying the mind to such totally different and even divergent interests as classics and Catholic theology with the tension requisite for success in either, and much

more in both ; (3) from the difficulty of cultivating a pure classical taste with such an obstacle, habitually thwarting it, as the Latin of the theological Schools. Hence I should be apt to think that even "W. G. W.'s" *second* use of classics, in the education of a priest,—*i e.* as a help to the formation of taste and style,—could not be reconciled with those high views of the sacerdotal vocation which I share with him, or with the great restrictions which he himself would put upon general, and especially imaginative literature, in ecclesiastical education.

I am speaking, all along, of a classical education continued up to the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, *pari passu* with the strictly ecclesiastical course. For I think that the case of some of the Oxford and Cambridge converts is enough to prove that there is no necessary incompatibility between a love of the classics and the ecclesiastical spirit, where the two objects do not directly clash. Again, would not the *petit séminaire* (which seems, for once, a point of contact between "W. G. W." and "X. Y. Z.") tend to keep up, in a measure, out of the difficulty? a kind of Stonyhurst, for instance, where the Jesuit that is to be is imbued with classical knowledge under the guidance of such a scholar, for example, as Father Tickell, apart from any special ecclesiastical training, up to the age of seventeen, and then (after a two years' novitiate) goes to a college, where all his studies are determined in one direction by the now settled state of his vocation? No one can say that here, at any rate, the religious spirit is liable to be prejudiced by the classical preparation. But the present seminary life of secular ecclesiastics is too brief for these combined results.

SIR,—As one who has for many years given much thought and attention to the subject, I have watched with deep interest the controversy about education proceeding in your pages ; you will therefore, I hope, permit me to add my mite to the abundant supply of information and comment already laid before your readers. I do not make this request, like your correspondent of January, under protest, for I think much good likely to result from such discussions, and I see no reason why a layman should not take part in them : but as the controversy is already in progress, I am saved from all responsibility on that point. My own view differs widely from "W. G. W.'s," and as his letter contains the fullest and most searching examination of the subject which has appeared on that side, a good deal of what I have to say will naturally take the form of a comment on it. But I am not answering him ; my object is to state my own view of the whole merits of the case, rather than to controvert or to defend any body else's view, and I shall only notice his letter, or those of your other correspondents, so far as it may be necessary for the purposes of my argument to do so.

It may be convenient, in the first place, to arrange the subject at issue under five heads, which will be found, I think, to include all the

questions that have been mooted by "X. Y. Z." or "F." They are— (1) the separation or union of lay and ecclesiastical students; (2) the importance of a thorough classical education; (3) the respective advantages of the public and private school systems; (4) the treatment of the affections; (5) the use and abuse of modern literature. Both your earlier correspondents have entered at some length on all these points. "W. G. W." has confined his argument to the three last, though it is not difficult to gather, from many scattered hints in his letter, that his own opinion on the other two is in accordance with "F.'s," and against the existing system of our English colleges, which is forcibly and, to my mind, conclusively advocated by "X. Y. Z." There has never been any separation of lay and ecclesiastical students at Ushaw or Oscott, and the principle of giving a full and systematic classical education previous to any directly theological course is recognised, I suppose, at all our colleges, whatever may have been their practical shortcomings. To judge from a letter which appeared in a Catholic paper not long since, both these features of their system are highly prized and zealously guarded by the authorities of the principal college in England. It is not, therefore, going too far to say that the burden of proof lies entirely on those who are desirous of a change; and as "W. G. W." has not taken the burden upon himself, or attempted any reply to the arguments of his opponent on the subject, I may assume, that, however his own opinions may incline the other way, he is diffident of urging their general adoption. "X. Y. Z." had referred to the Abbé Gaume's system as that which his opponents ought in consistency to avow. I wish to speak of its author with that respect which is due to a pious and estimable man; but it would be a false politeness to treat his unhappy theory with a respect which it is not entitled to. "W. G. W.," however, has not explicitly adopted it, though it seems to be logically involved in his principles; and as he has not done so, and as the weight both of argument and authority is almost entirely on the other side, I am spared the necessity of discussing the subject, and may pass at once to the other points, on which a much wider variety both of practice and opinion prevails.

1. I come first to consider the relative claims of the public and private school system, for this is the real point of the discussion. "W. G. W." has attacked his opponent for speaking of the latter as the "principle of police," and I think the term was not happily chosen. But then, he had little choice except by following "F.'s" example, as I see he has done in his second letter, and borrowing a French word to express an essentially un-English idea. It is, indeed, quite worth notice in passing, that *surveillance* and *espionage* (for the two are practically synonymous) are no less foreign to the vocabulary than odious to the sentiment of Englishmen. But to return, I hardly know whether I dissent more widely from "W. G. W." on this point in his opinion of the principle, or his estimate of the facts of the case. He considers our public schools "the most utterly detestable educational institutions existing." I consider them among

the noblest ; and I do so from a large induction of testimony, experience, and facts. When he speaks of the system as "Protestant," he seems to forget that it is only Protestant accidentally, but in origin and principle is Catholic. The old foundations, such as Eton, on which all the rest are modelled, are our inheritance from the "ages of faith." The public-school system is not peculiarly Protestant, but peculiarly English. And this is a point which appears to me to have been too much lost sight of throughout this correspondence. A recent writer in the *Tablet*, who professes to speak from considerable experience, complains that the same evil results follow from an opposite system on the Continent as here. Very likely he may be right. But certainly, when we find the one system prevalent in England for upwards of four centuries, both before and after the Reformation, and rigorously maintained at present by the largest English Catholic College, and find the others almost universal in foreign schools and colleges, whether Catholic or not, it is natural to infer that the distinction is grounded more on national than religious characteristics. When we come to its actual working, I admit that we see it in other Protestant public schools under great disadvantage, though my experiences are very far from being so "dreary" as your correspondent's. For I too had the misfortune to be educated at one of those "most utterly detestable institutions," and I am free to confess that I spent there some of the happiest, and I hope most profitable, years of my life. But to come to the question of principle. Why is the moral corruption of Protestant private schools, which *are* under a system of strict *surveillance*, notoriously *far* worse than at Protestant public schools, where there is a much greater freedom?—for I think nobody, who has any experience in the matter, will deny the fact. If "W. G. W." lays the blame to the account of the Protestant religion in the former case, he must admit a similar explanation in the latter too. And then the argument tells against him. It is very natural that religious men like Dr. Arnold, who had hardly any spiritual machinery to work, and was very timid in using what he had for fear of overdoing it, should have felt strongly the difficulties of his position. But it is clear, even from your correspondent's quotation, that he preferred it, with all its difficulties, to any other ; and much more may we who have what he had not. My own full conviction is, that three-fourths at least of the evils he deplored would cease at once, were our public schools to become Catholic. Confession would do more to purge this moral atmosphere than the most skilfully-devised method of *espionage*. I say *espionage*, because any system of *surveillance* that is really successful must in practice be a system of *espionage*, and always is ; a consideration which would alone, to my mind, be conclusive against it.

I don't think even now that a public schoolboy would be called a "sneak" for acting in the spirit of our Lord's counsel about patiently bearing injuries, though his schoolfellows would no doubt call him a "sneak" and coward if he urged that counsel to get off

fighting another boy after having insulted him. And in nine cases out of ten they would be quite right.

It is, unhappily, only too true that the sacred virtue of purity is little prized, and seldom preserved, by the majority of Protestant boys and youth, wherever they may be. But that fact has little to do with the present question, especially considering what I said just now, that there is much more impurity at private schools than at public schools.

“W. G. W.” seems, oddly enough, to consider the fact of boys forming “a kind of commonwealth by themselves,” which is of course an integral (I think a very valuable) feature of the public-school system, inconsistent with any “friendly and familiar intercourse between masters and boys.” There was a good deal of such intercourse at the school where I was, and would probably have been more, but for the large mass of work which overtasked the energies of the masters, and monopolised their time. They mixed with us freely when they could, especially with the boys in their own houses. I do not deny that such opportunities might with great advantage be more cultivated than they are both at Protestant and Catholic schools; and I fancy there is a growing feeling in that direction. There is nothing, then, in the public-school *system* to prevent the boys being what your correspondent calls “saturated with good society” (*i. e.* that of their masters); but the system is certainly inconsistent with the *constant official* presence of masters, which is probably what he really means. The French academy, so humorously described by “F.,” where the master shouted out his “*quatre pages d’histoire, monsieur,*” from his lofty perch, must have been under a pretty stringent system of *surveillance*, but there cannot have been much that was “friendly and familiar” about it. Friendly intercourse is about as like *surveillance* as a friend is like a detective, or a father like a parish constable. Your correspondent’s remarks on the importance of rules as to hours of study, recreation, &c., though perfectly true, seem equally wide of the mark. Surely every school imposes such rules from the necessity of the case; and I should have said they were quite as rigorously enforced in Protestant schools as in Catholic ones. We certainly were not “left to ourselves” in the matter when I was at school. The *motive* on which rules are obeyed is quite another thing, but that depends on the religious teaching and character of the school, not on its disciplinary arrangements.

There is one feature of our public schools to which none of your correspondents has referred, but which is by no means an unimportant one,—I mean the “fagging,” or, as it is sometimes called, the “monitorial” system, which forms a system of subordination among the boys themselves, as well as a connecting link between them and their masters, and helps to keep down irregular bullying and kindred abuses. “W. G. W.” appears to be well read in Stanley’s *Life of Arnold*, and he will no doubt remember that this was the great instrument utilised by Dr. Arnold in that work of reforma-

tion of which "X. Y. Z." speaks. It is valuable in many ways, as a discipline in habits of obedience and command, and as a test of manly docility.

To sum up this part of my subject. Education is something more than instruction, though instruction forms an integral part of it, and should always be the best of its kind. It is twofold, partly direct and partly indirect: the direct, education which youth get from their teachers and superiors; the indirect, which they get from free intercourse with one another. This last is of very high importance. It is admirably secured by the public-school system, and is not only ignored, but rendered impossible, by the system of *surveillance*. If the system of *surveillance* or *espionage* is found suitable in France (a point I pronounce no opinion upon), it is not at all the more likely to be suitable in England. No two things can well be imagined more diametrically opposite than English boy-nature and French boy-nature, as the testimony of both parties will concur in demonstrating; and we are speaking now of the best education for England.

2. There is probably nothing in their schoolboy-days to which public schoolmen look back afterwards with such unalloyed satisfaction as to those early friendships which generally last through life. I cannot even conceive what school would have been to me without them, and am heartily thankful that "W. G. W.'s" paradoxical views on this subject, which he does not even attempt to defend by any show of arguments, come before me as a matter of theory only, and not of experience. I am glad to find that both "F." and "X. Y. Z." are agreed on this point. Certainly I consider that for most persons, and especially for boys, "particular friendships" are not only not harmful, but extremely desirable and useful, and calculated to elicit all the nobleness of natural character. They are a little education by themselves in generosity, unselfishness, and sympathy; and the attempt to put them down appears to me unmixedly evil. Its natural result, *where it succeeds*, is to produce a hard, cold, unsympathetic, selfish tone of mind; and *where it does not succeed*, and the friendships are carried on clandestinely, to produce a kind of unhealthy, maudlin sentimentality of feeling, quite unlike any thing ordinarily met with among public schoolboys, and very injurious to character, sometimes even dangerous to purity. What else could we expect from the unnatural—I think *wicked*—attempt to crush the healthy play of the affections at an age when they are peculiarly warm, pure, and abundant? "W. G. W." tells us the "contemplative saints" did without particular friendships. I suppose the saints did without many things which it would be neither pious nor prudent for ordinary Christians to forego. Some of them were called to a literal fulfilment of our Lord's counsel about forsaking father and mother; some, like St. Jane Frances de Chantal, have been able to triumph in the death of their nearest relatives because it left them freer to serve God; some have lived whole years on nothing but the Holy Communion. Will your correspondent say

they are to be *generally* imitated in such points? If, however, he means that "earthly affections" are a hindrance to raising our affections to the "great objects of faith," I think he has hit upon either a mare's nest or a truism. *Exclusive* earthly affections are of course a hindrance, others are a help; at all events, he should have given us some reason, which he has not done, for so novel and paradoxical an opinion. And, as it has been very truly said, before adopting such a view we must put the works of St. Francis of Sales in the fire.

If, again, he means, what his language in one passage seems to imply, that "particular" affections are a hindrance, instead of being a help, to general warmth and affectionateness of disposition. I cannot sufficiently express my wonder that so intelligent a writer should have fallen into so unintelligible a blunder. He cannot, surely, be ignorant that those who have no "particular" affection usually have no affection at all. But I need not dwell further on this point, as the whole matter of the affections, of which it forms a part, has been fully and admirably handled both by "F." and "X. Y. Z.;" and "W. G. W." has not even condescended to notice their arguments except by a reference I cannot see the point of, to a quotation which had been made from Dr. Newman, and which tells entirely against him.

3. I proceed, then, to consider the third and most intricate branch of the question, viz. the uses of modern literature.

There is the widest divergence of opinion on this point between your various correspondents, and I suppose also a great diversity of practice in our different schools and colleges. "X. Y. Z." would throw open to students the whole field of literature which is not immoral. "W. G. W." would put the whole under interdict. "F.," steering a middle course, would allow it to the secular, and forbid it to the ecclesiastical student. The last plan seems to me wholly impracticable, at least in a mixed college, where it would make an invidious distinction between the two classes of students. Of the other two views my sympathies are, in the main, with the first, and certainly against the second. I do not wish, however, to be understood to pledge myself to agreement with every thing put out by "X. Y. Z.," and still less to all the inferences which his opponent has drawn from his words. I think some of those inferences extremely strained and unfair; and, indeed, "W. G. W." seems to be singularly unhappy in mastering the exact position of those who differ from him. At the same time, I cannot help regretting that "X. Y. Z." should have left himself so vulnerable to the blows of even a less opinionated and more discriminating critic, as he has done by his use of hasty and incautious language, and his neglect, when laying down his principles (which is done lucidly and well), to guard and define their application more accurately. I regret it all the more because, in the main, I concur with him, and the subject is one, for many reasons, requiring more careful and delicate handling than it seems to me to have received from any of your

correspondents. I may as well refer at once to a suggestion of "W. G. W.'s" which seems well worthy of consideration, and which I should be very glad to see carried out wherever "the right man" could be found for the purpose—for unless it were done well, it had better be left alone altogether; I mean, his proposal that a course of lectures should occasionally be delivered in colleges on the merits and faults of modern literature, or of some chosen specimens of it, and its point of departure from Christian faith. In this proposal I heartily concur, though not exactly in the method of stating it. But there my agreement ends. When he goes on to say that, when this cannot from circumstances be carried out, the more completely students can be debarred from the whole field of literature the better, I must utterly dissent from his opinion. And this brings me at once to the real heart of the subject.

"W. G. W." begins with a threefold division of all "non-religious books" by way of simplifying the question. I think he has, unknowingly, done his best to confuse it; for his division is a cross-division, and a very unfair one too. However, let us see what it is. In his first class are placed all strictly scientific books, and all which deal with the day facts of history, geography, or natural scenery, carefully *excluding* "vivid illustrations of human nature." He says he never heard of "any objection to such books on the grounds of moral and religious discipline," and that they are most freely and ungrudgingly admitted "into all our colleges." Of course they are; for they form the staple of all elementary education, and have nothing whatever to do with the present question, which concerns the use of literature, not in the studies of the place, but in recreation hours. He might as well have told us that "he never heard of any objection" to Jelf's *Grammar*, or Buttman's *Lexilogus*, on moral or religious grounds. His second class includes Protestant works on metaphysics, psychology, and theology, which are *not* freely admitted into Catholic colleges. Again, I can only say, of course not. The prohibition is very natural, and has nothing to do with the question. His third class, a sufficiently wide one, includes every thing which does not come under one of the other two, and which he calls exclusively "literature;" so that Wordsworth's poetry, *e. g.*, would not be "literature" at all. Moreover, he describes this whole class of books as "worldly" (in the worst sense of the word), and says that if they are not so, they are "religious" books, whatever be their form. It follows, either that every book not directly religious in its subject (as sermons, tracts, saints' lives, or those most odious publications, "religious novels") is thoroughly bad, *or* that all books, whether poetry, tales, history, essays, or what not, which deal with secular subjects in a religious spirit, *i. e.* as a religious man would deal with them, are "religious books"! If it is thought important to define terms at the beginning of a controversy, we cannot wonder that a writer who begins with such definitions as these should throw the whole subject into almost hopeless confusion.

If we want to know what he means by the "worldliness" which he ascribes to all "non-religious" books, he has himself given us a very explicit account of his meaning in seven propositions, which may be summed up as follows: (1) That to make God's service the end of life is "mean and contemptible." (2) That vain-glory and pride, in the most intense degree, are the highest virtues. (3) That a man is a "poltroon" who thinks immorality a worse evil to his country than political weakness. (4) That "physical courage" is a "greater virtue" (*sic*) than weakness and humility. (5) That intellect, though used against God, is "worthy of reverence." (6) That impurity is "no serious evil." (7) That a life of religious contemplation is "the most simply absurd" possible. I pass over *physical* courage being a "virtue," which very much reminds me of the recent statement of a Protestant bishop, that smoking is a "demeanour," and card-playing a "muscular exercise." But seriously, does your correspondent imagine all, or even most, of these principles to be implied in "every one" of the books he classifies as "literature"? Such a statement could only be made by a writer who is either very ignorant of literature himself, or who, like some men, and very clever men too, always discovers in a book, not what it contains, but what he has predetermined to find there. This last, I suspect, to be "W. G. W.'s" case; for his opinions, if we may judge from his letter, are so exceedingly strong on most subjects, that if facts do not square with them, he says, though without meaning to say it, *tant pis pour les faits*. Will he soberly maintain that all, or most, of his seven principles are found in "Shakespeare and Scott," to whom he has referred? Are they all implied in Southey or Tennyson, or Thackeray or Macaulay? I take on purpose writers of very different kinds. Is it even true, to take a more extreme instance, that most of these are consistently implied in such authors as Shelley, or Keats, or Byron? I suspect the class of "literature" to which they more properly belong is the modern French novel, and that would be excluded even on "X. Y. Z.'s" showing.

He brings forward, however, an intellectual objection, as well as a moral one, to the free use of literature, and, *as he has stated the case*, it is a very strong one. But I must be pardoned for saying that, with a strange inaccuracy, he has entirely *mis-stated* the case, at least as between his opponent and himself. Indeed, I can hardly conceive any one holding the view to which his criticisms really apply; and though, as I said before, "X. Y. Z.'s" hasty and unguarded language has on some points left his meaning doubtful, I can see no shadow of ground for imputing to him a view completely at variance with the whole line of his argument. "W. G. W." maintains that "the free and unchecked study of general literature" will enervate and debauch a boy's mind, and, from having no "stand-point" from which to contemplate so miscellaneous an assemblage of facts and opinions, he will be left in hopeless bewilderment. He quotes Newman's *University Essays*, and his description of "the inimitable Mr. White," in support of his charge. Now all this would be very

true and very conclusive if it were proposed to make "literature" the staple of a boy's education, and not the useful recreation of his leisure hours. No one that I know of has broached so insane a notion. Certainly not "X. Y. Z.," who argues throughout for a systematic and thorough course of classical and general education, and with whose views on that point, or rather with the views of Dr. Newman, from whom he has borrowed them, I thoroughly concur. "W. G. W.," however, does not; and I think there is, therefore, what he would call a "singular infelicity" in his references to Dr. Newman. There is the same confusion of thought in his suggestion that books on "mathematical and physical science," and others in his "first class," which exclude "all vivid illustrations of human nature," can be a substitute for literature. They are admirable, no doubt, for purposes of study, but would hardly be taken up to while away a leisure hour by the fireside. The same is true of theology or the Bible. The former, too, is not studied by candidates for ordination till they are from eighteen to twenty, or older, and hardly bears on the recreation time of boys. I should be as glad as your correspondent to see the Bible more widely read; but I don't see that the prohibition of secular literature does much to promote reading it, as Protestants, who labour under no such restrictions, read it much more frequently than Catholics. I concur again in what your correspondent says of the "growing opinion" in favour of Wordsworth's poetry, and am very fond of it myself; but I never cared for it as a boy, and I don't think that kind of poetry is ever popular with boys, or likely to become so. This is the real point, which "W. G. W." has strangely overlooked. Reading for boys in their leisure time must be interesting, or it will not be read; and the books in his "first class" are not interesting to most boys.

If he replies that literature promotes "sedentary habits," I rejoin that that is the very last temptation boys are usually liable to; and if it were otherwise, the true remedy is, not to discourage literature, but to encourage manly games. Cricket, boating, fives, football, &c., however, cannot be carried on during our long English winter evenings. After all, this is more a matter of character than of literary taste, at least in the young. A "sedentary" boy will lounge over the fire with a stupid book, or with no better companionship than his own foolish, perhaps sinful, thoughts, if he cannot get an interesting book.

And now let me sum up my own views on this branch of the subject. I certainly think that a boy's studies may be, and ought to be, so conducted as to interest both his intellect and his imagination; and no teachers who are incapable of so conducting them should be intrusted with the great and solemn work of education. None but first-rate men ought ever to undertake it. Where this was the case, the dangers of "depressed imaginations," &c., of which "X. Y. Z." speaks, would of course so far be obviated. At the same time, I think it of great importance, for the reasons he urges, and others too, that a large supply of healthy food for the imagi-

nation should be provided for boys during their leisure hours. And I do not think that want would be sufficiently, or in most cases beneficially, met by "the revelations of the more mystical saints," even with the agreeable addition of a pianoforte and a "chemical apparatus." I certainly consider it far better for a boy's mind and character, when he is not engaged in some healthy games or healthy conversation with his comrades, that he should be employed on literature,—though (like conversation) it speaks with the "voices of the natural man,"—than mooning about by himself, or engaged in "microscopic" criticisms on his neighbours, or, worse, in that style of coarse, semi-sensual conversation, which boys are so prone to, and which easily slips off into what is positively wrong. To go a little more into detail, though I am not professing to give more than an outline, I would have a school-library well stocked with works of history, biography, travels, poetry, and a fair selection of the best novels (excluding what are called "religious" ones), such as the Waverley series, Thackeray, and Dickens. Over this last department a careful censorship should, no doubt, be maintained, to limit both its quality and quantity. As to the books boys might provide for themselves, I should be inclined to leave them entirely free (for I agree with "X. Y. Z." that "disobedience and dodginess" is the most likely result of an opposite course); only of course immoral books would be seized if discovered, and the possessors severely punished.

And now let us come, finally, to the question of the help which literary taste and knowledge may give a man in his future influence over others, which, as "W. G. W." very pertinently observes, has "quite a special importance" in the case of priests. His own view is, that it will be positively injurious to a priest in his dealings with the rich, and still more with the poor, who are the great majority. And he quotes some unnamed writer as urging that "the *clerus universus*" should be trained, not in the model of the few, but "so as best to meet the capacities and characteristics of the many." My own opinion is, that the more thoroughly educated and refined a priest is (supposing, of course, he possesses the necessary qualifications both of nature and grace, for which no education can be a substitute), the better able will he be to cope with the wants both of the many and the few. Let me explain my meaning more exactly.

First, as regards the relative numbers of rich and poor. Most priests have, or may be called, to deal with *both* classes. If therefore it were shown only that the educated man can deal effectively with the poor, and the uneducated cannot deal effectively with the rich, this argument would lose its force. It is again certain, as "W. G. W." seems to admit, that, considering the immense indirect influence of the upper classes over the lower in this country, at least as far as conversions are concerned, a priest's influence over the former is of almost incalculable importance, if only for the sake of the latter. But to take each case on its own merits. I will begin with the poor. I am not going to defend "X. Y. Z.'s" language

about our "fellow-men," &c., which is no doubt unfortunate. But I think "W. G. W." need not have been so unmerciful to an error, which, as he himself admits, did not affect the sense. I also think he has overlooked a fact to which his opponent had called attention, and which is not to be lost sight of,—viz. the rapid increase of the "half-educated classes" even among the poor in our towns. To confine the inquiry, however, to that class which is, and is likely to remain, thoroughly "uneducated," I still think that want of education and refinement in their pastors would be no passport to their hearts, but rather the contrary. The poor (and especially the Irish poor) have usually a very keen appreciation of refined delicacy and tact, and are very sensitive to its absence, though they would not express themselves on the subject as we do, or, indeed, express themselves at all. It is probably from this reason that even Anglican parsons, if they make any sort of attempt to do their duty, are now more looked up to and trusted by the poor than Dissenting ministers (who are taken from their own rank), often even by Dissenters themselves. Their means of dispensing temporal relief may partly account for the fact, but it certainly does not account for it altogether. I am of course all along assuming the educated priest to have zeal, piety, &c., and that power of ready sympathy on which your two former correspondents have dwelt so strongly, and which "W. G. W.'s" crusade against "particular friendship" would, I am afraid, not at all help to foster.

Next, as to the educated classes themselves. "W. G. W." is very severe on his opponent for desiring that the "decided majority of priests should be taken from the rank of gentry." I can see no such desire expressed or implied in "X. Y. Z.'s" letter. But if there were, it would be no "novelty," as such was very generally the case before the Church had been sacrilegiously robbed of her endowments in almost every country in Europe. Without, however, going that length myself, I think the history and present state of Catholic countries very clearly shows, that a considerable infusion of priests from the upper classes is of the very highest importance, as regards both the character of the clergy themselves and the esteem in which they are held by the laity. I could easily show this by example, but I will not go into detail here. Of course, therefore, I should feel any educational reforms likely to promote the object of obtaining more vocations from the upper ranks (and there are very few at present in England) so far a gain.

But now, sir, as to the influence of the educated priest (whatever be his origin) over others. When "W. G. W." calls him a half-educated mongrel "*littérateur*," he is falling into the mistake I have already exposed, of confounding the uses of "literature," as the instrument of education, with its uses as an ornament and appendage to the severer studies of a school. Of course any educated man would be disgusted by such an odious specimen of stupid and pretentious vulgarity. But no such specimen would be the produce of the system I am maintaining. It would much rather, I think, be the

product of his own, so far as I can penetrate his view of what should be the intellectual method of education; but on this point he maintains a politic reticence. When, again, he says that an educated priest would have less influence for good because he would have lost his spirituality, I can only reply, why should he have lost it? An "interior spirit" is not surely promoted by want of taste, or knowledge, or refinement, though it may be lost or blasted by too exclusive a pursuit of them. Yet these are, as far as I can make out, his only arguments for the extraordinary opinion that an educated priesthood would have less influence than an ignorant one, instead of more, over the educated classes. As regards the matter of *preaching*, on which so much has been said, I am unwilling to enter on an invidious comparison; but I cannot think a writer in your last Number has stated the case fairly, when he assumes that all Catholic sermons are preached extempore, and all Protestant ones written. Some of the very best Protestant sermons I ever heard were entirely extempore, and very much the *worst* I ever heard from Catholic priests were written and *read*. It is not, therefore, true to say that all converts have acquired the power of preaching without book since conversion, and it is, I am afraid, a still greater mistake to suppose that they all preach better now than formerly. Some preach very much better, and some very much worse than they did as Protestants. I quite agree with most of this writer's remarks on preaching in general; but I wish he had not prefaced them with a needless comparison, which adds nothing to their force, and is sure to provoke a very telling retort.

I shall not enter here on the question, how far the English University system is a suitable model for our imitation. And as your correspondent has brought forward no argument in support of his own view, and admits that the common opinion, backed by so high an authority as Dr. Newman, is against him, there is no call on me to do so. But before quitting this argument, I shall take leave to say that the question of "*fact*," to which he alludes without entering on it, is of very great importance as reacting on the theory. For if it should appear that the actual working of the system he defends is something very different from what he assumes it to be, there would be good reason for reconsidering the theory itself; just as the good results of the public-school system, on the other hand (when viewed apart from its Protestant accidents), are a strong argument in its favour. When, however, "W. G. W." talks of the "fundamental principles" of Catholic education being attacked, he should remember, on the one hand, that, according to a writer who speaks on behalf of the authorities of Ushaw, the views he opposes, on four out of the five points I have enumerated above, are in substance conservative of the existing theory of our English Colleges, not subversive of it. And if, on the other hand, he considers his ideal of a Catholic college any thing more than an ideal, he must be living altogether in a very ideal world.

Your obedient servant,

DERLAX,

Current Events.

HOME AFFAIRS.

The Opening of Parliament.

AT the opening of Parliament, on the 5th of February, the Queen's Speech was almost exclusively devoted to foreign affairs. It was announced, indeed, as usual, that the estimates would be neither too high nor too low; and measures were promised "for the consolidation of important parts of the criminal law, for the improvement of the law of bankruptcy and insolvency, for rendering more easy the transfer of land, for establishing a uniform system of rating in England and Wales, and for several other purposes of public usefulness." But, as far as the ministerial programme goes, politics are banished for the session from the arena of domestic legislation. The Budget may possibly recall them, but it is not likely to do so of set purpose; and the country may fairly congratulate itself on its emancipation from the thralldom of "unnecessarily comprehensive measures."

In the House of Commons, the absence of any mention of reform in the Speech was made the occasion of an amendment on the Address, which was supported by Mr. Bright, and lost by a majority of 83 in a house of 175. Lord John Russell, the only minister who took any part in the debate, thus stated the position of the Government: "With regard to the question of Reform, . . . I think it is perfectly clear no measure could have been brought forward with a chance of its being carried, except a measure of a very trifling character; and I believe, for my own part, that it is better for the Government to leave that question entirely untouched than to bring forward a measure which would create great disappointment among its supporters, many taunts on the part of its opponents, and which, whether carried or not, would occupy a great deal of valuable time without any valuable result. There

is another consideration, which is, that on this question of Reform I have always had considerable dread of what persons might be induced to do by way of compromise. We had franchises by the Reform Act which are secured to us so long as that Reform Act is not touched; but if, by way of getting certain provisions, you give up certain other provisions, your loss is certain; while it is not so certain you would gain any thing equivalent to it on the other side. . . . In order to carry a Reform Bill that shall be actually of use to the country,—and I should call no Reform Bill of use that did not admit great numbers of the working classes,— . . . there must be a great and favourable breeze of public opinion that will enable us to carry it in this House, and, with a swelling tide, over the bar of the House of Lords. . . . The Right Hon. gentleman has said truly that a great part of the opposition against the Bill we brought forward [last session] came from gentlemen who sat on this side of the House, and who represented large constituencies. . . . There was clearly an indisposition of members of the House of Commons on this subject. . . . The country was quite dead on the subject. . . . If such is the state of public opinion,—if the governments of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Derby, and my noble friend have brought forward different plans of Reform, and they have failed, from the general dislike that seems to affect them,—I must come to the conclusion that at the present time—and I speak only for the present time—there is no such disposition in favour of the further amendment of the representation as ought to induce the Government, I might say to justify the Government, in proposing a measure for the reform of the representation. However, the country has the matter in its own hands. It is not too late for indignation meetings." Meanwhile, Sir George Lewis, on behalf of

the Government, has introduced a Bill for assigning the four seats forfeited by the disfranchisement of Sudbury and St. Alban's to the West Riding, to South Lancashire, to Chelsea and Kensington, and to Birkenhead.

Of the measures specially referred to in her Majesty's Speech, the Bankruptcy Bill is the most important which has yet appeared. It does not materially differ from that of last year, except by not reënacting the provisions in the statute law; and though, in deference to the judgment of the House, and strongly against his own, Sir Richard Bethell has

thus consented to give it a "fragmentary and disconnected" character, he hopes that, when once passed, it will enable him, in some future session, to consolidate the whole law of bankruptcy, and so carry out his original idea. It has been read a second time.

In pursuance of the pledge given last session, Lord Palmerston has obtained a select committee "to consider whether, by any alteration in the forms and proceedings of the House, the despatch of business can be more effectually promoted;" and a similar committee is to be appointed by the Lords.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Italian Revolution.

When General Goyon complimented the Pope on New-Year's-day in the name of his sovereign, the Holy Father in reply spoke highly of France and her armies as defenders of religion and his own sacred rights; he blessed the army in Syria, the army in China, the army in Rome, and the fleet at Gaeta, which was defending a cause than which none could be juster or holier; but he did not mention the Emperor's name. At this period there was still some hope for the old *régime* in South Italy. The French fleet before Gaeta hindered any blockade or bombardment from the sea; insurrectionary movements were beginning in several provinces, and were becoming peculiarly dangerous in the Abruzzi. Disaffection was strong in Naples, where Mazzinian intrigues and Muratist plots harassed Farini, whose lieutenantancy was daily growing more unpopular. Count Trapani, with the open aid of Mgr. de Mérode, was organising the bands of the Abruzzi, who, Jan. 15, obtained a success at Tagliacozzo, which was, however, soon reversed by General Sonnaz. Jan. 8, La Farina, the lieutenant of Sicily, was forced to resign, in consequence of the national guards' refusing to arrest Crispi.

The continued resistance of Francis II. was evidently the knot of the Italian question; the substitution of Prince Carignan for Farini at Naples, though a popular measure, could not

outbalance the loss of prestige which the Piedmontese suffered at Gaeta. At last Napoleon, yielding to the pressure of the English Government, announced his intention of withdrawing his fleet, and in an article in the *Moniteur* of Jan. 17 explained his reasons for having kept it there so long. It was "a mark of sympathy for a prince cruelly tried by fortune," not an assumption of "an active part in a political struggle." Its prolongation, however, was rapidly giving it the character of an encouragement to resistance and of material support. Neutrality was becoming impossible. He announced that hostilities, stopped *de facto* on the 8th, would remain suspended till Jan. 19, when Admiral Barbier de Tinan would leave Gaeta.

During the armistice the ambassadors accredited to Francis II. went to him from Rome to congratulate him on his birthday, and were very unexpectedly invited by him to remain; all complied, except those of Russia, Prussia, and Portugal. The former afterwards returned by command of Alexander II. On the 20th Admiral Persano blockaded Gaeta with the Italian fleet, and on the next morning the bombardment began. Operations were carried on with great spirit on both sides till Feb. 13, when the garrison, prostrated by typhus fever, diminished through some terrible explosions, and unable to use their rifled ordnance after the destruction of their ammunition, were no longer capable of resistance.

Francis II. and his queen were taken by the French ship *Mouette* to Civita Vecchia, on their way to Rome. The garrison (11,000 men) remained prisoners of war till the forts still held by the Bourbon soldiers, Messina in Sicily, and Civitella del Tronto on the Garigliano, should be surrendered. Nearly 800 cannons and 60,000 muskets were found in the fortress.

During the siege there had been some affairs between the Sardinian and Papal troops, which appear to have had no meaning. The Piedmontese (Jan. 22) sacked the convent of Casamali, which was, according to them, the head-quarters of a reactionary band; according to the *Giornale di Roma*, a quiet retreat of monks. Jan. 26, the Papal Zouaves attacked a body of Sardinian volunteers at Correse, and took fifty prisoners. The Piedmontese in reprisal arrested the Bishop of Sabina and twelve priests. General Goyon at last interfered to stop these unprofitable bickerings.

Feb. 18 was the opening of the Italian Parliament, in which the elections (Jan. 28) had secured to Cavour a great majority, the republican partisans being nearly every where defeated. Victor Emmanuel made the following speech:

“Senators and Deputies,—

“Free, and nearly united, thanks to Providence, to the determination of all, to the valour of our troops, Italy relies upon your strength and wisdom.

“It is for you to give her common institutions and a fixed organisation. By establishing the greatest administrative freedom among men accustomed to different habits and institutions, you will have a care that this political unity, the aspiration of so many centuries, shall not be touched.

“The Emperor of the French, while firmly upholding the principle of non-intervention—a principle eminently beneficial to us,—nevertheless deemed it proper to recall his envoy. If this fact was a cause of grief to us, it has not changed the sentiments of our gratitude nor our confidence in his sympathy for the Italian cause.

“The Government and people of England, that ancient cradle of free-

dom, have loudly proclaimed our right to be the arbiters of our own destinies; they have lavishly bestowed on us their good offices, the grateful remembrance of which will be imperishable.

“Senators and Deputies,—

“I am certain you will be anxious to supply my Government with the means of completing the armaments by land and sea. Thus, the kingdom of Italy, put into a condition of not fearing an attack, will more easily find in the consciousness of her own strength a reason for opportune prudence.

“Once my words sounded bold; it is as wise to dare in season as to wait in season. Devoted to Italy, I have never hesitated to risk for her my life and crown; but no one has a right to risk the existence and destinies of a nation.”

Policy of England.

There is a Nemesis attending on statesmen, by reason of the affinity between home and foreign policy, which makes it impossible for principles to be permanently acted upon in our relations abroad which do not also prevail in our home government. It is therefore of interest both to those who look forwards and to those who look back, whether we consider the facts or the signs of current events, to ascertain the policy which guided England during the last few months, which have brought the Italian revolution so near to its crisis. It was expounded distinctly, and with a sort of *doctrinaire* consistency, by the Foreign Secretary in his speeches on the two first days of the session.

On Tuesday, Feb. 5th, Lord John Russell said: “Her Majesty’s Government have declared, not that the unity of Italy was their object, but that we only wished the Italians to be free to choose their own rulers; that if the Grand Duke of Tuscany or the Duke of Modena were received with the consent of the people, our Government would see their restoration with pleasure; but that they could not approve, and would protest against, any attempt to impose on the Italians any government by force. Was that principle right or wrong?”

In other passages of his speeches and writings Lord John Russell has endeavoured to make it appear that he does not consider this a principle of general application, because M. Dandolo and The O'Donoghue have made it evident to his mind that it cannot be applied to parts of the British dominions. But these would be cases of policy to be separately argued. In the above passage he states absolutely, that, even without any reasonable cause of complaint,—for at Florence it was distinctly declared by the leaders of the revolution, that they did not complain of misgovernment,—a sovereign may be cashiered by his subjects; that he holds his authority not even *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, but merely *durante bene placito*.

Speaking of the Neapolitans, he said: "It was for them to consider whether the Prince, having hereditary right on his side, was a prince in whom they could trust; and they had the perfect right to regulate their internal affairs in such a manner as to secure their own happiness. Is that a wrong principle?"

It is the principle of rationalism and of revolution, by which the state and society are disorganised; for it denies that there is a divine law in each, a union which God has sanctified and man shall not sever. It is precisely the same spirit which enacted the Divorce Act by which these views of foreign policy are maintained; which desecrates and undermines the family by denying the indissolubility of marriage, and the State by denying the divine origin of authority. Obedience is, therefore, a matter, not of duty, but of taste. A sovereign who forgets no duty, and invades no rights, may be dismissed, if the people deem that they will be more happy without him. This happiness may be founded on some new aspiration or desire; some new idea may suddenly arise and spread rapidly over a land, carrying away a whole people to whom it had never before occurred—indeed, it is only thus that great revolutions are brought about. Like the experiments of a chemist, they are sudden and instantaneous. The moment a certain combination occurs, a certain discovery is made, or a convic-

tion established, the explosion takes place. Whatever accumulations of error, or of suffering, or of wrong, there may have been, they are powerless until some new element gives them force. Such an idea was the idea of the political unity of Italy under the House of Savoy, before which all the thrones of the Peninsula have fallen. If, therefore, a people arbitrarily and obstinately place their hopes of happiness in the satisfaction of some desire that has never been practically tried, and has nothing but speculative arguments to support it, they have a perfect right to deal with their king in such manner as may best secure that happiness. He has no rights that can be inconsistent with their wishes. They have no duties that can prevail against their interests, or hinder them from ascertaining experimentally what really is their interest. Questions as to right and wrong cannot therefore be admitted in reference to the arbitrary will of the people.

Lord John Russell consequently refuses to entertain the question whether the rebels in Italy have had good reason to be dissatisfied with their rulers, and whether, therefore, they were justified by facts. In his despatch to Sir J. Hudson of October 27th, he says (p. 126 of the correspondence): "Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their Governments for good reasons? Upon this grave matter her Majesty's Government hold that the people in question are themselves the best judges of their own affairs."

The inquiry into the merits of those governments is altogether collateral, and cannot influence the conduct of the English Government. Their sympathy is secured by the nature of the claims and demands of the insurrectionary party. The question is not whether a government be good or bad, a revolution just or unprovoked, but whether it aims at a representative, parliamentary government. If it does, it has a friend in Lord John Russell; if not, he is for the powers that be. This he explained as follows on Wednesday, Feb. 6:

"There are now in Europe, as there

have been at various periods, three parties. There are those who are for despotism, there are those who are for disorder, and there are those who are for constitutional monarchy; and I say that it is not unbefitting the English Government to declare that when there is a contest among these principles, they cannot favour despotism, they cannot show any countenance to disorder; but that with the cause of constitutional monarchy and of representative institutions, under the aegis of a king who can keep his word, they do feel sympathy, and that they are glad to see such a cause flourishing in a country which is so glorious for its ancient recollections, and so distinguished for the ability, industry, and activity of its sons as is Italy. Therefore it was that when Russia, and Prussia, and impliedly Austria and France, expressed their disapprobation of any attempt to establish an independent Italy, I thought that the voice of this country might be heard on the other side, and that it might be shown that one constitutional monarchy at least would be glad to see the Italians free themselves by their own exertions. Not that we meant to interfere to promote that cause, but that we were ready to favour with our approbation the meritorious and glorious efforts which were then being made in its favour."

From these speeches, therefore, and from the Blue-book, it appears that the English Government was not anxious for Italian unity, and would have been content that the thrones should continue to subsist, provided they were surrounded with constitutional forms. But they were ready to approve of any means by which constitutionalism could be made to triumph, if it was not introduced by the princes themselves. The Sardinian invasion of Southern Italy was in fact justified in their eyes because Victor Emmanuel is a constitutional king. In advising that it should not take place, and that Garibaldi should not be permitted to carry out his expedition to Sicily, they were guided by the dread of complications which might extend beyond the boundaries of Italy. On the day of the opening of Parliament, Lord John Russell said:

"In that position, I really think the King of Sardinia could do no other than declare himself at once to be so deeply interested in what had happened, as well for himself and his States as for Italy, whose champion he avowed himself to be, that he would march with an army into Naples, and establish that unity of Italy which had long been the wish of so many of the people in all parts of that country."

In defending the aggression on non-intervention principles, he avowed himself a partisan of the theory of nationalities; he would certainly not approve of the sovereign who governs Venice imitating the conduct of the king who reigns at Turin. Acts, therefore, of aggression which are prompted by hatred of foreign dominion, and acts of rebellion caused by the love of parliamentary institutions, possess the approbation and even the sympathy of the minister. The revolution requires no wider concessions. Its theory is, that as the people are supreme, the nation must be one with the State, and that no rights can stand in the way of the changes necessary to carry out the form of government which the people desire. The principle is the same whatever that form may be. *Voluntas suprema lex*. This is the common principle of tyranny and of revolution. It is the same thing whether the right is assailed on the part of the king, or on that of the people. In either case it is a divine right. A prince who commits a revolutionary act forfeits the obedience of his people, and a revolutionary people forfeits its right of being respected by its neighbours. The right of intervention corresponds to the right of insurrection. They are the restraint and the remedy provided by God for the preservation or the restoration of the harmony which He has constituted between rights and duties, and for the maintenance of His divine order in society.

Guided by the evidence which Lord John Russell has given against himself, we have represented the spirit of his Italian policy as it appears in his own official and apologetic utterances. We have at present nothing more authentic to rely on. A future historian will have better

opportunities than a chronicler of contemporary events of describing the policy of the English Cabinet in the Italian revolution. He will be able to prove that two ideas contended for the mastery among men united by no common principle, and divided by conflicting notions of religion and of honour. One is a disinterested desire to see representative government, or at least representative action, triumphant in Italy; a desire honestly entertained, but coupled with a fatal eagerness to realise it even by the most treacherous and disloyal means. On the other hand, he will be able to prove, what no man can detect in any thing published by ministers, the existence of a secret wish to put an end to the trouble and annoyance given in almost all parts of the empire by a religion which is difficult to deal with even on principles of religious liberty, and of a hope that this will be accomplished, that at least the hierarchical organisation, which renders Catholicism so formidable to statesmen, will be destroyed, by precipitating the Papacy into a ruin which no human institution could survive without a miracle. And perhaps it will be shown that the wish to see the divine character of the Church tested by such a trial was felt not only by those who hated her, but still more by those who feared her, because they had felt her influence, and who sought the solution of a religious problem as well as of a political difficulty.

It will be the task, therefore, of the new Parliament to constitute the Piedmontese system of government the common code of Italy, to provide sufficient means for securing Italian independence by the conquest of the Austrian fortresses, and to carry into effect against the Church the cast-off legislation of Austria. The first enterprise of the three, the consolidation of unity, will be the first difficulty they will encounter. The country is in no respect homogeneous; the different parts have different traditions, different characters, and have lived under different laws. These are the things which form a nation (not language or descent), and in Italy they have formed distinct and different nations. The nation is the product of

the state, not its cause; the result, not the basis of government. So that it will be found, that for political purposes the North of Italy has no more affinity with the South than Austria with the North of Italy. In the long-run, the Piedmontese will be just as strange, their system just as hateful to Neapolitans, as the Austrians in Lombardy. What they can do they must do quickly, whilst the causes of their popularity endure, while the memory of an evil government is strong, and the predominance of Austria and the privileges of the Church are identified with its duration. It may be in their power to do much good by destroying much prolonged evil, and to change with a vigorous hand the face of an unhappy country. But their authority and institutions will not be permanently established in the country; the more active they are in clearing away the remains of the old *régime*, the more bitter will be the animosity and the reaction they will provoke, and the South can only be in their hands a dependency of the North.

The absolute necessity of conquering Venetia imposes on them a task of still greater peril; for they cannot hold their conquests if they do not attempt it, and they will lose them if they fail. They require three conditions to succeed: a rising in Hungary, the neutrality of Germany, and the support of France. They can reckon on none of these if they do not make war at once, and for this they are not prepared, and the Austrians are. The new Austrian Constitution, of which the scheme has been published, must greatly alter the prospects of the empire. It must gain internally by delay, whilst the unity of Italy becomes more insecure, and the attacks on Hungary and Venetia must be simultaneous in order to assist each other. The plan at present is that Hungary should be made to rise by expeditions both from Dalmatia and from the Danubian provinces, organised by the volunteers under Klapka and Turr, aided by the Italian revolutionists. Kossuth has prepared to leave England for ever, and is expected on the scene with a vast quantity of money. In

1849 his notes passed current in Hungary whilst the imperial paper was refused. Many of them are still in the hands of the people, and he has created in London a new supply. These notes, smuggled into the country, will enlist all their possessors on the side of the revolution, and will interest them in its success. When the flame bursts forth on the Danube, it will be hard for the wary statesmen of Turin to keep the peace on the Mincio.

The third and greatest difficulty of the victorious Piedmontese will be their position towards the Church. It is part of the system which Cavour has borrowed from the Josephism of Austria to make the Church subordinate to the State, an instrument, not a limit, of political power. They fear her wealth, they fear her organisation, they fear her immunity from the civil law, and the power she has through the enthusiasm and zeal of the people. It is their interest, therefore, to confiscate as much as possible of her property, or at least to assume the administration of it; to break down the energy of the hierarchical system; to overthrow the ecclesiastical law; to abolish those religious orders which are most remote in their rules and spirit from the secular clergy. It is true that in this manner, and especially by introducing the liberty of religious discussion, the peculiar evils of Italian Catholicism will be swept away. But new evils of a different kind will be introduced: the clergy will become dependent, and religion will be secularised and profaned. It is remarkable that nearly all the best and most zealous of the Italian priesthood who are not personally interested with the maintenance of the existing order, like the Jesuits and the higher orders of clergy, should view with such general satisfaction the progress of recent events. They have been familiar with the defects and dangers of the system under which they lived, and are not yet so forcibly impressed with the evils of a system of which they have no sufficient experience, and which it will be a great misfortune and reproach to them if they do not soon learn to detest. The end which the Piedmontese have in view is not

merely the removal of the evils which exist, and even if it was, it could not justify the means employed. Nor could the Holy See consider the end only. Between it and the Piedmontese government no reconciliation appears possible. Nevertheless an officious negotiation was permitted at the time when the success of Piedmont in Southern Italy appeared imminent. Father Passaglia, who had received marks of favour from Pius IX. at the time when the dispute between the party of conservatism and that of progress among the Jesuits drove him from the order, was regarded as the most disposed of the Roman clergy to make terms with the revolution, and to accept its results. His pamphlet on the Roman States was believed to have received the approbation of the Pope, when it was censured by most of the subordinate authorities. He offered his services to ascertain at Turin the conditions on which it would be possible for the Holy Father to remain in Italy when it was united under the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. Cardinal Antonelli refused to give his mission an official character; and he proceeded simply with the permission of the Pope, and with the encouragement probably of the nine or ten cardinals who are reported to agree with his opinions. The French meanwhile remain in Rome, and no temporary solution announces itself yet. It is most probable that the progress of events elsewhere will hasten the termination of a position so painful to every Catholic, so unworthy of the dignity and of the virtues of Pius IX., and so heavily fraught with evil to the Church.

The North-American Union.

Nearly all those who of late years have visited and studied the United States have been impressed with the decline of the federal authority and with the decay of political wisdom, and have believed that the Union would break up, sooner or later, into three great fragments: an Atlantic confederation, a confederation of the Gulf States, and a confederation with its centre in California. The breach between North and South has come sooner than was expected, and long

before the Far West has developed the first conditions of separation. Rumours of disloyalty to the Union have come from San Francisco, which is on a different footing both from the Slave States and the Free, because it imports labourers from China; but those rumours had no serious foundation.

It is evident that the first conditions of political subordination and permanence are wanting in a country where a prime minister elect holds language like that of Mr. Seward at a public dinner on Dec. 23.

"So certain has it become that no State can adopt a constitution which will last for more than twenty-five years without being repaired and renewed, that in our own State the constitution which we adopted twenty years ago contains a provision that next year, without any appeal to the people whatever, a convention shall come together in the State of New York, and make a new constitution."

Such a statement in the mouth of a great orator does not exhibit greater political maturity than that of a Charleston patriot on the other side, who said, speaking of the federal power: "Our government is not a government. It never has been, in fact, any thing but an agency; and it is great presumption for it to set up pretensions to behave like one of the old European governments, and talk about treason."

Such being the constitutional opinions of leading men, there is nothing in recent events at which we can greatly marvel. The chief peculiarity is, that the disunionist party was strong in Mr. Buchanan's cabinet, and that the retirement of General Cass gave them a sort of pre-dominance in the government. With such divided councils the President could take no active measures to save the Union; and Mr. Buchanan, moreover, expressly declared that he thought it his duty to do nothing. In a document of December 14, appointing January 4 as a day of fasting and prayer for the preservation of the Union, he draws a vigorous picture of the calamities which the threat of secession had already brought on American society.

"The union of the States is at the present moment threatened with

alarming and immediate danger; panic and distress of a fearful character prevail throughout the land; our labouring population are without employment, and consequently deprived of the means of earning their bread; indeed, hope seems to have deserted the minds of men, all classes are in a state of confusion and dismay, and the wisest counsels of our best and purest men are wholly disregarded."

In a message dated January 8th he says:

"The necessary consequences of the alarm thus produced were most deplorable. Imports fell off with a rapidity never known before, except in time of war, in the history of our foreign commerce. The treasury was unexpectedly left without means, which it had reasonably counted upon, to meet the public engagements. Trade was paralysed, manufactures were stopped, the best public securities suddenly sunk in the market, every species of property depreciated more or less, and thousands of poor men, who depended upon their daily labour for their daily bread, were turned out of their employment. . . . As the prospect of a bloodless settlement fades away, the public distress becomes more and more aggravated.

"If the political conflict were to end in civil war, it was my determined purpose not to commence it, nor to furnish an excuse for it by any act of the government. My opinion remains unchanged, that justice as well as sound policy requires us still to seek a peaceful solution of the questions at issue between the North and the South. Entertaining this conviction, I refrained even from sending reinforcements to Major Anderson, who commanded the forts of Charleston Harbour, until an absolute necessity for doing so should make itself apparent, lest it might be regarded as a menace of military coercion, and thus furnish a provocation, or at least a pretext, for an outbreak on the part of South Carolina."

This helpless policy began to bear fruit before the close of the year. The Convention of South Carolina met December 17th, and on the 19th repealed, by a unanimous vote in a house of 169 members, the act by which the State had joined the Union.

In a manifesto published some time after, they justified their secession by the conduct of the Northern States in the following terms :

"Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions, and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen States, and recognised by the Constitution. They have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery ; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies the avowed object of which is to disturb the peace and prosperity of the citizens of other States ; they have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes, and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, by books, and pictures, to servile insurrection."

Of the new President they say :

"He is to be intrusted with the administration of the common government, because he has declared that the 'government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free,' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction. . . . The guarantees of the Constitution will, then, no longer exist ; the equal rights of the States will be lost ; the slave-holding States will no longer have the power of self-government or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy."

At the same time South Carolina recommended to the States which should secede with her the Federal Government of the United States as the model of their future Confederation, and proposed a Congress of the Southern States at Montgomery, Alabama. Congratulations poured into Charleston from the governments of most of the other Slave States, conventions were summoned to meet in many of them, and throughout the South men began to arm, and the governments seized the arsenals and stores of the Federal Government, and began to raise loans, and to forbid cash payments, in order that all the specie in the banks might be at hand in the moment of need.

Mississippi and Florida seceded January 10th, Alabama January 11th ; Georgia, it was expected, would ar-

rest the movement ; but Georgia seceded January 19th, by a majority of 208 to 89, and the opposition acquiesced in the validity of the act when it was carried. North Carolina resolved by a unanimous vote to stand by the other seceding States, if they were not satisfied ; but South Carolina has declared her secession final and irrevocable, and refused to consider any offers of concession, or any terms of compromise.

Louisiana seceded January 26th, by a vote of 113 to 17 ; Texas, Feb. 4th, by a vote of 154 to 6.

Meanwhile the Border States, which do not require slaves for their own labour, but rear them for exportation to the South, and are, therefore, as much interested in slavery as producers as the cotton States as consumers, who depend not on slave labour but on the slave trade, formed a group apart. They acknowledged that they were compelled to cast their lot with the South, but not being interested in secession, tried to prevent it ; and it is from them, from Virginia especially and Kentucky, that the attempts at compromise have chiefly proceeded.

The proceedings of the Slave States encountered no resistance ; no violence was any where used. Nothing was done to protect the rights and property of the Union. There was no United States force in the South. But at Charleston itself, the heart and centre of the secession movement, it seemed for some time that a conflict would take place.

Dec. 26. Major Anderson, the United States officer in command, occupied with all his force Fort Sumter, which commands the entrance to the harbour. At that moment commissioners were proceeding from South Carolina to treat with the President for the surrender of all the materials of war by the United States. At Washington they learnt what had happened, and that Governor Pickens had retaliated by instantly hoisting the Palmetto flag over the arsenal and the other forts, which Anderson had dismantled, and which were immediately put into a state of defence.

Dec. 27. The Secretary of War, Floyd, proposed to the cabinet the recall of Major Anderson for an act

of unjustifiable aggression. Floyd was one of those who had prepared the way at Washington for the secession of the Southern States; and a vast fraud which had been recently discovered in his department, though it was not traced to him, was explained as an attempt to strengthen the hands of the seceding party. Floyd's motion was rejected by a tie vote in the cabinet, and on the 29th he resigned. Anderson was not recalled, and still Mr. Buchanan was not enabled to send him the reinforcements he was urgently demanding. He broke off the negotiations with the Southern Commissioners.

The position of Major Anderson at the mouth of Charleston Harbour with a small force, and an understanding that it could not be increased, was extremely critical. The Charleston Government exhibited the utmost determination, though no act of hostility was committed against the garrison of Fort Sumter, and Governor Pickens behaved with courtesy to Major Anderson. Every sort of influence was brought to bear on the President to induce him to send out a force. At last a private expedition was organised, and General Scott resolved to send a vessel to the relief of the force at Fort Sumter. Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, hereupon resigned, Jan. 8.

Meantime a committee of thirty-three, one from each State, was appointed to devise means of saving the Union. Dec. 18, Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed an amendment to the Constitution, which, adopting the line of the old Missouri compromise, $36^{\circ} 30'$, prohibited slavery north of that line, and deprived Congress of all authority over the question of slavery to the south of it. A modification of this plan was proposed by Mr. Rice, of Minnesota, who wishes to unite all the territory north of the boundary in one Free State, and all south of it in one Slave State, with the power of subdividing themselves afterwards. Mr. Douglas proposed a plan, Dec. 24, the chief original feature of which was a project of negro colonisation. The committee of thirty-three made a report voted by the majority, by which the claims of the Southern States were recognised, but their

proceedings condemned. There was a minority report, adopted by Northern members, altogether condemning the South, and another of Southern members demanding a convention of the whole people, and adopting Mr. Crittenden's plan. One member reported for himself that nothing could be satisfactory which failed to provide for the extension of slavery. Then there is the Border-State plan, which limits slavery to the country south of the Missouri line, leaves it open to the future States that are formed in that district to adopt or to reject slavery, and requires that Congress shall prohibit the foreign slave-trade in order to have a monopoly in the exportation of slaves.

Jan. 24. Ex-President Tyler brought to Mr. Buchanan the resolutions of the Virginia Legislature, proposing a convention on the basis of the Missouri line, leaving the extension of slavery over the territory south of that line to be determined by the States as they arise. This plan, which Mr. Crittenden accepts, has been recommended in a message by Mr. Buchanan, and a committee has been named to find a way of preserving the peace.

The disappearance from Congress of so many Southern statesmen has given a majority to the Protectionists at Washington; and a Bill has been brought in to render more complete the economical dependence of the South upon the North. The commerce of the Southern ports, Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, is, of course, entirely suspended, and the Republicans hope to starve the South to surrender. By claiming the revenue-dues they can blockade the ports, and force the cotton to come north by railway, and by removing the duty on foreign sugar they can stop the chief market for sugar grown in the Slave States. And this is the point on which the whole revolution principally turns. It is an attempt on the part of the South to emancipate itself commercially from the North.

A New Orleans orator said, in 1855:

"It is time that we should look about us, and see in what relation we stand to the North. From the rattle with which the nurse

tickles the ear of the child born in the South, to the shroud that covers the cold form of the dead, every thing comes to us from the North. We rise from between sheets made in northern looms, and pillows of northern feathers, to wash in basins made in the North, dry our beards on northern towels, and dress ourselves in garments woven in northern looms; we eat from northern plates and dishes; our rooms are swept with northern brooms, our gardens dug with northern spades, and our bread kneaded in trays or dishes of northern wood or tin; and the very wood which feeds our fires is cut with northern axes, helved with hickory, brought from Connecticut and New York."

A Charleston paper says :

"It would seem to be reasonable, at least, that surrounded with the raw material, unencumbered with the cost of transportation to northern cities, southern manufactories should not only compete, but successfully maintain a higher position than those so far removed from the cotton-growing region."

At the Southern Commercial Convention, 1855, a resolution was proposed:

"That this Convention recom-

mend to each of the Southern States to encourage the establishment of a direct trade with Europe, either by an exemption from taxation, for a limited time, on the goods imported; or by allowing the importers an equivalent drawback or bounty; or by such other mode as, to the legislators of the respective States, may seem best."

The mode which has seemed best is secession; for the mode which would really be the best, the gradual transformation of slavery and encouragement to free labour, offers real difficulties of the utmost magnitude, and is in every way distasteful to the slaveholders. Their calculation, founded on the axiom of the omnipotence of cotton, is, that Europe will be interested in obtaining direct free trade with them. By means of direct taxation they may throw open their ports to European commerce, and thus interest England in keeping them open, and in escaping the revenue-dues of the Union.

The Congress at Montgomery has elected Mr. Jefferson Davis, one of the ministers of President Pierce, to be President of the Southern Confederation.











